tricontinental

HOOVER
JAN 31 1968
INSTITUTION

Crear dos, tres... muchos Vietnam, es la consigna

Es la hora de los hornos y no se ha
de ver más que la luz.
José Martí

Ya se han cumplido 21 años desde el fin de la
tima conflagración mundial y diversas publicaciones
~~mundo~~, en infinidad de lenguas, celebran el acontecimien
simbolizado ~~por~~ en la derrota del Japón.
Hay un clima de aparente optimismo en ~~los~~ muchos sectores
~~que los~~ de los dispares campos en que el mundo se
ide

21 años sin guerra mundial, en estos ~~años~~ tiempos de
frontaciones máximas, de choques violentos y cambios
entinos, parecen una cifra muy alta. Pero, sin
alizar los resultados prácticos ~~de la paz~~ de esa paz
la que todos nos manifestamos dispuestos a luchar
a miseria, la degradación, la explotación cada vez
yor de enormes sectores del mundo) cabe preguntarse
~~si esta paz~~ ella es real.

No es la intención de estas notas historiar los di-
rsos conflictos de carácter local que se han sucedido
de la rendición del Japón, ~~ni~~ es, tampoco, nuestra
rea hacer el recuento, numeroso y creciente, de luchas
viles ocurridas durante estos años de pretendida paz
ortenos poner como ejemplos contra el desmedido optimis
mo los guerras de Corea y Vietnam.

En la primera, tras ~~tres~~ años de lucha feroz, la pote

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tres ... muchos
Vietnam, es la
consigna

Che

EDITORIAL

In the heart of the South American continent, in the most inaccessible terrain of Bolivia, Major Ernesto Che Guevara died in combat. The scene of his final action was the Yuro Valley where he was mortally wounded. It was in Vallegrande that they cowardly fired the fatal shot.

The news was circulated but only after several days of almost fanatical disbelief did the peoples and the revolutionaries begin to admit the truth: the irreparable loss of this consistently internationalist revolutionary who made of solidarity something much more than a mere stereotype of revolutionary orthodoxy.

Che, a man who believed in personal example as a guiding precept, as a principle inspiring action, found occasional periods, sometimes only fleeting moments, in which to write, in which to convert the years of revolutionary praxis, their results and perspectives, into rigorous analyses, personal declarations, well ordered descriptions of his experiences, into newly conceived ideas destined to open new horizons which, for that very reason, would outrage the monopolies with the absolute truth. *Guerrilla Warfare, Man and Socialism in Cuba,* speeches like those at the Afro-Asian Conference in Algeria and at the United Nations Organization are only a few of his contributions.

His *Message to the Tricontinental,* which became, through tragic circumstances, his Political Testament, is the final synthesis of his thought, of his ideological concepts, of his experiences. It is a complete work which can be used equally well by the oppressed in their struggle for liberation as by those who have already begun the long and difficult road to a new life.

An insatiable revolutionary, Che Guevara dedicated all his energies

to transforming and revolutionizing the old capitalist society, which, when it does not directly dominate the peoples, imposes its hereditary structure on the creative work of revolutionaries. Bold, rigorous and sensitive, he penetrated these old structures, and he dedicated his thinking and revolutionary actions to fighting everything outdated. A persistent believer in the development of the conscience of man as the only means of forming the new man, he worked on the elaboration of new methods of directing the economy along the road to the construction of socialism and communism.

But if his death surprised the peoples and revolutionaries, it can be said with absolute certainty that he was the least surprised. He saw it coming with his eyes wide open and faced it unflinchingly, accustomed as he was to the idea —which he often included in his messages and letters as one of the logical and most obvious risks inherent to armed revolutionary action— of his death becoming a practical consequence of this action.

With the death of Ernesto Che Guevara the revolutionary movement in Africa, Asia and Latin America suffered a hard blow. The struggle on a tricontinental scale faltered. However, this means nothing more than the facing of facts.

The history of revolutionary struggle is replete with setbacks, blows and misfortunes. There serve as eloquent examples and lessons the first defeats of Bolivar, the Paris Commune, the Russian Revolution of 1915, the Chinese Revolution of 1927, Indo-China in 1931, Cuba after Moncada, Africa in 1961, Santo Domingo in 1965.

The death of this great example, of a true man of the Third World, offers the man of that world a consciousness of his destiny: the right to fight and die for his liberty. By offering his life as a means of liberating facts and ideas, he defended the right of the peoples, with arms in hand, to eliminate the exploitation of man by man and to win their true and definitive independence.

The grief which revolutionaries must endure is part of the daily struggle, and the inevitable continuity of this struggle necessitates the reaffirmation of the historic obligation of every revolutionary. The rapacious presence in the world of United States imperialism found in Che a hatred which knew no bounds and which, because of its nature, was beyond the comprehension of our enemies.

Revolutionaries will double their efforts; the armed struggle will grow among our exploited peoples; two, three, many Viet-Nams will be created.

Songs of mourning will be sung in the unceasing combat, cries of victory will be heard in both military and ideological struggles, and Che's image will rise every moment like the Phoenix bird, battle-hardened and warlike.

TRICONTINENTAL.

TO THE READER

Preparations for our second edition coincided with repercussions throughout the world to the news of the death of guerrilla leader Ernesto Che Guevara. The complete text of the statement of the Prime Minister of Cuba, Major Fidel Castro, at the solemn vigil held in Havana (page 104), Che Guevara's speech at the Afro-Asian Seminar held in Algiers in February 1965 (page 19) and the OSPAAAL declaration naming the 8th of October Tricontinental Day of the Heroic Guerrilla— all serve to underline the significance and the long-term effects of this loss. *"To create two, three, many Viet-Nams"* — the concept which will perpetuate his life — is presented on our front and inside front cover: in Che's unmistakable hand we may read the first page of the message, now redefined as his political testament, which we published in a special supplement of this magazine.

Experiences and Facts contains material of undoubted interest. An Indonesian journalist wrote this clandestine report of the repression unleashed in his country by the Suharto régime (page 54). Work in medical care and hygiene among the guerrillas: this account from "Portuguese" Guinea clearly indicates the organizational results achieved by the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde.

Important lessons may be learned from the CIA intervention in Guatemala: we find them in *"Internal Reasons for the Defeat,"* a faithful account of the reasons for the overthrow of the Arbenz Administration by one of the members of his cabinet.

TRICONTINENTAL

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In *Land of Ideas*, the article written exclusively for *Tricontinental* by Phoumi Vongvichit, Central Committee member and Secretary General of the Neo Lao Haksat, exhaustively analyses the victories of the Laotian people in their anti-imperialist struggle (page 6). Its author was Minister of Information and Tourism in the tripartite national coalition government; he led the delegation of the Laotian Patriotic Front in its discussions with France; and he headed the Neo Lao Haksat delegation to the Tricontinental Conference. This section includes brief commentaries by Massemba Debat, Chief of State of the Congo (Brazzaville) and First Secretary of the National Revolutionary Movement.

The British occupation of South Yemen and the activity of the patriots of this little-known region is the focus point of *Meridian Liberation* (page 88) a thought-provoking section of unedited text and photos about the struggles of the peoples of our three continents.

Peter Weiss — a German, born in 1916, now a resident of Switzerland, author of *Interrogation*, a new work based on the documents of the trial of the Auschwitz Nazi criminals, and *Marat Sade* — offers his polemical opinions on the concept of the Third World and on the position which the European intellectual must assume when confronted by "the most powerful world of our time" (page 163). In his most recent play, dedicated to the Vietnamese people, Weiss experiments with an epic form in which there are no individual characters but only collective ones as a means of creating consciousness of the problem, the search for which is implied in this article.

Exclusive interviews are recorded by *Tricontinental* journalists in our section *Man and His Word*: Agostinho Neto, leader of the Popular Liberation Movement of Angola, and Carlos Marighella, the Brazilian communist leader.

In *Notes for History* we publish two documents of far-reaching significance: the political program of the South Vietnamese National Front for Liberation, and the two decrees promulgated by the Algerian Government sanctioning the nationalization of the Anglo-American petroleum companies (page 128). Also within the scope of "historical papers," at a time when all progressive humanity is celebrating the fiftieth anniversary of the birth of the first proletarian state founded by Vladimir Ilich Lenin, it is informative to read once again the military program of the Bolsheviks (page 31). It is unquestionably one of the most visionary *Starting Points* in the history of the revolution of the oppressed.

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land of ideas

BATTLES AND VICTORIES IN LAOS

by Phoumi Vongvichit

The Secretary General of the Central Committee of the Neo Lao Haksat and President of the Laotian Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Phoumi Vongvichit, wrote this exclusive article for **Tricontinental** in commemoration of the twenty-second anniversary of the Laotian proclamation of independence and to mark the Tricontinental observance of Militant Solidarity with the Laotian People

Filled with overwhelming enthusiasm, the Laotian people commemorate the 22nd Anniversary of their Proclamation of Independence—date of the birth of a new, independent and free Laos. Their enthusiasm is also due to the fact that the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America have consecrated this day as the "Tricontinental Day of Militant Solidarity with the Laotian People." The Laotian Committee for Afro-Asian Solidarity, as well as the entire population of Laos, express their deep gratitude to the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, which has demonstrated, through this gesture, an unyielding militant solidarity with the Laotian people.

In the fraternal Cuban nation, vanguard of the Latin American movements for national liberation, a heroic people, led by their Communist Party and their Revolutionary Government headed by Fidel Castro, greet with fervor the Tricontinental Day of Militant Solidarity with the People of Laos. The Laotian people greatly appreciate this international solidarity that vigorously encourages them to further the efforts aimed at the defeat of the United States imperialist aggressors.

Though their country and Latin America are antipodal, the Laotian people follow with attention the struggle waged by the effervescent Cuban people and the other Latin American peoples against United States imperialism. The triumphs of the Cuban Revolution have attracted into their swirling whirlwind, the determination of the Latin American peoples to stand up to United States imperialism. The Cuban example proves that in our era, all peoples, no matter how small they may be, if they unite and fight with decision and resolution, basing their struggle on a correct line and methods of action, may accomplish a victorious revolution, and will be able to safeguard the achievements attained by the revolution, making it progress steadily.

The struggle waged by the 330 million inhabitants of Latin America against colonialism and imperialism, with U.S. imperialism as its ring-leader, plays an extremely important role within the world revolutionary movement. While contributing their glorious part to the success of the struggle that the

peoples of the world are waging against imperialism, led by U.S. imperialism, the Latin American peoples are contributing in a real sense to the struggle that the people of Laos are waging against Yankee aggression, for national salvation.

Employing methods of annihilation, imperialism must face the increasingly violent struggle of the peoples who fight to attain and defend their independence.

It tries desperately to maintain its former positions and to recover its lost colonies, hoping to establish its hegemony over the whole world. Imperialists, headed by U.S. imperialists, never cease to exert their actions of intervention and aggression, with the purpose of thwarting the national liberation movement of the African, Asian and Latin American peoples. But this movement rises like an irresistible wave. Hundreds of millions of peoples in the three continents carry out their attacks against the imperialist fortresses, which are crumbling, whole sections at a time.

The Laotian people give uninterrupted support to the anti-imperialist world struggle, which they consider as a support to their own cause for national liberation. The Laotian Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Committee and all the Laotian people pledge themselves to exert all possible efforts in favor of the national liberation struggle of the peoples in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

At the end of the Second World War, taking advantage of a favorable moment, the Laotian people rebelled and seized the power denied them by Japanese fascists. They proclaimed their independence on October 12, 1945. But French colonialists reconquered Indochina, of which Laos was part and parcel. The Laotian people then undertook, together with their brother peoples of the Indochinese Peninsula, a long and hard nine-year resistance struggle which culminated in victory.

Under the national and democratic banner, and basing themselves on a correct line, the real Lao Itsala (free Laotians), under the leadership of Prince Souphanouvong, united large masses of the population and of the different nationalities in the anti-colonialist struggle. With this powerful development of the guerrilla forces, the enemy suffered serious and increasing losses; the revolutionary forces continued growing and their bases spread.

Totally beaten at Dien Bien Phu, the French colonialists were forced to sign the 1954 Geneva Agreements on Indochina, which recognized the sovereignty, independence, unity and territorial integrity of Laos, Viet-Nam and Cambodia.

After this victorious resistance, the Laotian revolutionary forces

continued to develop their growth. Among the glorious historical triumphs of the Laotian people are the existence of an army and a redistribution zone, the formation of a national union bloc, the legal recognition emanating from the Geneva Agreements and the projection of their prestige inside as well as outside their country.

But Laos has since then become also an extremely important strategic region for U.S. imperialism, which backed financially the French colonialists in the dirty Indochinese war and which has now intervened in Laos directly, in order to carry out all the steps of a neo-colonialist war of agression. Yankee imperialism's invariable plan is to convert Laos into a neo-colony and a military base, to group Laos, Thailand and South Viet-Nam into a network of military bases which will be used to provoke war and to menace the socialist camp, the People's Republic of China and the DRV in particular, to dominate the South-East Asian countries and to prevent the revolutionary movement from developing there.
U.S. imperialism is carrying out its neo-colonialist policy in Laos through its "aid" program, together with the political conditions, its investment in and the undermining of the Laotian economy, use of a network of military, political and technical "advisers"... New social elements have arisen: bourgeois-compradores, reactionary mandarins and militarists who together form the "right faction." It is being used by Washington to install a puppet power and form a mercenary army whose motto is "independence," "nation," "democracy," and which is being used in the undeclared U.S. "special war," but which in reality is a bitter struggle at the service of U.S. neo-colonialism in Laos.

In order to trick world public opinion and to hide its aggressive nature, U.S. imperialism keeps on proclaiming that the war in Laos is nothing but a "civil war," and that it has limited itself to "defending Laos from communist subversion and aggression." But it cannot mask all its defeats through the last 13 years; from backstage, it has waged an aggressive war making Laotians fight against Laotians, mobilizing its aerial forces in South-East Asia and its satellites' combat units in Thailand, South Viet-Nam, the Philippines, Taiwan...

The danger of becoming enslaved by the Yankees is intensifying the fighting spirit of our peoples which is vigorously developing at all levels of the population, including among the sections of the middle forces that are generally nationalists and neutralists. The united national front is widening as it rallies all the nationalities, classes and strata of the population around the Neo Lao Haksat, which is headed by Prince Souphanouvong, for the waging of a long and hard struggle whose result will be the national and democratic revolution in Laos.

The people of Laos have been conducting this revolutionary struggle since 1957. U.S. imperialism has intervened in Laos and has carried out its aggression against the country through military, political, economic and diplomatic means, especially through military aggression: the guns have not stopped shooting for the past 13 years. After each hard military setback, the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have had to accept a negotiated peace, which they could exploit in their favor; their intentions did not succeed, so they started once more to sabotage peace. Nevertheless, each peace negotiation on the part of the U.S. imperialists marked a success for the people of Laos.

At the beginning, after the signing of the 1954 Geneva Agreements on orders from Washington, the lackeys of the U.S. in Laos pretended to engage in conferences with the Neo Lao Haksat while increasing "mopping up" operations, the repression of the patriotic movement of the people in the zone under their control, and the concentration of their troops against the two provinces where the patriotic forces were grouped. They hoped in this way to annihilate rapidly the revolutionary forces of Laos, by the force of their arms. Confronted with this situation, the Neo Lao continued in its efforts to negotiate, while directing the people of Laos and their armed forces in an energetic fight for the defense of the provinces that had been attacked, undertaking a great political struggle in the zone controlled by the enemy. This blazing fight, which violently pounds the countryside as well as the cities, especially Vientiane, embraces all levels of the population: young people, women, students, priests, intellectuals and even members of parliament and functionaries. Finally, the two provinces were kept intact and the revolutionary movement was reinforced and developed, while the enemy lost an important part of its strength.

Beaten in a military sense, and isolated in a political sense, the governing clique of Laotian U.S. agents had to sign the Agreements of Vientiane (22-10-1957) with the Neo Lao Haksat. These Agreements recognized the legal position of the Neo Lao Haksat, stipulating the constitution of a government of national unity, with the participation of the Neo Lao Haksat, and proclaimed democratic liberties according to the spirit of the political program of the Neo Lao Haksat.

The forming of a government of national unity with the participation of the Neo Lao Haksat, tending to attain a pacific, independent, neutral Laos, corresponded to the aims, the civil rights and the interests of the people of Laos, preparing the conditions for furthering the revolution. However, the U. S. imperialists did not stop at their maneuvers for intervention and aggression. They wished to profit from the calm in order to

vanquish the revolutionary forces by pacific methods. Therefore, a short time after constitution of the government of national union, they imprisoned the leaders and the important cadres of the Neo Lao Haksat in Vientiane, extending the war to the whole territory of Laos. In order to defeat this new enemy plan, the Neo Lao Haksat mobilized just in time all the people to take up arms, and to combine the armed fight with the political struggle, in order to safeguard the conquests of the revolution, defend the Geneva Agreements, preserve the peace and neutrality of Laos, and denounced to Laotian and world public opinion the interventionistic maneuvres and the plans of aggression of the U.S. imperialists, and the anti-national treason of their lackeys. Thanks to this correct policy, the movement of struggle against Yankee aggression has been able to rally the different nationalities, and all the strata of the population; it has exerted a strong influence even on the members of the Council of the Throne and on the National Assembly, circles of the armed forces and the police of Vientiane.

With the support and the cooperation of the Neo Lao Haksat and of the movement of popular struggle, part of the troops of Vientiane overthrew the puppet administration of Somsanith-Phoumi Nosavan, by means of a putsch carried out on April 9, 1960. The neutralist forces took form and allied themselves with the Neo Lao Haksat in order to fight against United States aggression. Regardless of the later process of discrepancy—Phouma and Kongle had surrendered to the rightist party, placing themselves at the service of U.S. imperialism—the section of the patriotic neutralist forces has continued to collaborate with the Neo Lao Haksat in the fight against U.S. aggression and to attain peace, independence and neutrality for Laos.

Thanks to the correct policy and the principles directing the fight undertaken by the Neo Lao Haksat against the U.S. aggressors and the traitors who are their lackeys, the revolutionary movement has, at the present time, developed with renewed vigour and is inflicting repeatedly serious military defeats on the enemy, reducing it to pitiful political isolation; the guerrillas have quickly increased throughout country, the human resources of the enemy are destroyed or greatly reduced, the liberated zone extends over 2/3 of the national territory, and includes half of the population of the country.

After the great defeat of the enemy at Nam-Tha (May 1962) which was the result of repeated political and military setbacks, the puppet troops found themselves on the road to disintegration. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys were forced to sign the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, and those of Zurich and of the Plain of

Jarres. The Tripartite Government of National Union was formed; the Laotian revolutionary forces again won an important position in the government of national union, and Laos undertook, once more, the road of peace and neutrality.

The creation of the Tripartite Government of National Union and the signing of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos constitute great victories for the Laotian revolution, which reflect the progressive growth of the Laotian revolution, creating new, favorable conditions and new bases for the progress of the Revolution.

They also constitute, on the one hand, heavy defeats for the imperialists of the United States and their lackeys who, evidently, were maneuvering to strengthen their military forces and to attempt to destroy the Laotian Revolution by pacific means. After the reunion and the reinforcement of the rightist forces, having reached an awareness, on the other hand, of the futility of their efforts to destroy the patriotic forces by pacific means, the enemy resorted once more to force of arms in order to overthrow the Tripartite Government of National Union (1954-1964), starting new offensives of invasion against the liberated zone and intensifying the "special war" of aggression.

The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have stepped up destruction, terror and pillage in the zones under their control, organizing large-scale operations to be carried out against the liberated zone. What is even more serious is that, after the 17th of May 1964, Washington mobilized its Pacific Air Forces, as well as those based in Thailand, including B-52 strategic planes, in order to blast the liberated zone savagely. By these furious acts of war, the enemy has caused the people of Laos immense destruction and sorrow. What great numbers of civilians killed; of houses, villages, pagodas, hospitals and schools destroyed!

Carrying out, as in Viet-Nam, "escalations," it has transformed these regions into a focus of "hot war," which endangers the peace and security of all the peoples of the world. That is the reason why the people of Laos believe that U.S. imperialism, the leader of all imperialism, the international gendarme, the common enemy of the peoples of Indochina, of the peoples of Africa, of Asia and of Latin America and all the peoples of the world, is also the most dangerous enemy of the people of Laos.

Confronted with the maneuvers of the enemy, tending to intensify the war, the Neo Lao Haksat has reassembled all the patriotic forces, all the patriots, under the flag of the Nation and of democracy, in order to fight for the defense of the Government of National Union, the 1962 Geneva

Agreements on Laos, the peace and neutrality of Laos. Developing the traditions of indomitable fight, the patriotic forces and all of the population of Laos have defeated all the operations of invasion, revealing once more the aggressive character of U.S. imperialism both inside and outside the country, wounding tens of thousands of enemies, downing over 650 U.S. planes. The bloc of national union has never ceased to consolidate and enlarge itself. The armed forces and the paramilitary groups of the Revolution have grown in the trials of battle; the liberated zone has been kept intact and has been developed from the political, military, economic and cultural points of view.

In 22 years of revolutionary struggle, the Laotian people have surmounted multiple difficulties, and have achieved great successes. This reality shows that this small colonial and semi-feudal country, economically underdeveloped, is capable of fighting for the attainment of continued successes, repelling, step by step, the imperialist aggressor, even U.S. imperialism, in order to obtain national liberation.

Regardless of its heavy military and political defeats, U.S. imperialism persists in its aggressive actions. As U.S. imperialism has enormous economic and military potential, the people of Laos must yet carry out a very hard struggle in order to attain a pacific, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos; however, they shall win the final victory, since they have already secured the fundamental favorable conditions.

First: The Neo Lao Haksat has sponsored a line of action and a concrete policy in the struggle for a pacific, independent, neutral, democratic, unified and prosperous Laos, and the principle of the political struggle, combined with the armed struggle; this line, the concrete policies, and this principle are always verified as being perfectly correct, in accordance with the national fundamental rights and the deepest aspirations of all strata of the population, and of all the nationalities. In this manner, the Neo Lao Haksat has been able to rally all the strata of the population and all the nationalities into a monolithic bloc, to develop the national traditions of indomitable fighting, to transform the invincible moral forces into material forces, starting from zero to progress in number and increase in strength, and starting,, too, with small successes, to progress until the present important victories were reached.

Second: The Neo Lao Haksat — the Patriotic Front of Laos — which becomes larger and stronger each day, is a decisive political force in the struggle of the Laotian people against U.S. aggression, and for national salvation. Raising high the banner of peace, independence, neutrality and democracy, it has succeeded in fashioning a vast union

of all the strata of the population and of all the sister nationalities in the country, in closely uniting with the neutralist patriotic forces, in mobilizing the entire population to dedicate itself to fight, by all possible means, against U.S. aggression. Great numbers of the different nationalities have participated in the patriotic organizations of the Neo Lao Haksat, in the armed forces and in the para-military patriotic forces, and, of their own accord, they have contributed with their labor and with their material goods to the fight against the U.S. aggression. This goes to show that the people of Laos, while few in number, have been able to mobilize an inexhaustible reservoir of war matériel, in order to confront the aggressor, once they have managed to unite al the people in a compact bloc, and that they are ready to sacrifice themseves for the independence and the freedom of the homeland.

Third: The growing maturity of the armed forces, and of the paramilitary groups composed of three kinds of troops (regular forces, regional troops and guerrillas) is a sure guarantee of the fulfilment of the political tasks of the struggle against the U.S. aggression. The three categories of troops support and complement each other, each furthering the development of the others. The guerrillas constitute the nucleus of the war of the Laotian people. The regular forces, which have developed from small groups of guerrillas, have now become the People's Liberation Army of Laos, a strong army from the point of view of its components, its quality and the equipment belonging to the people and being used for the people.

During past years, the armed forces and para-military groups of the people of Laos have fought with courage, breaking up the operations of invasion, decimating the enemy battalions, dispersing the enemy's mobile groupings, causing heavy losses to the puppet Laotian troops and seriously affecting their morale.

Fourth: The liberated zone, which has been consolidated and enlarged step by step, from all viewpoints, constitutes a solid base for the revolutionary struggle of the people of Laos, which has been of long duration. In 13 years, it has overflowed the boundaries of the two provinces, which were regrouped in 1954, and has extended itself over a vast surface of land, covering 2/3 of the national territory and inhabited by half the population of the country. This is one of the most important achievements of the struggle of the Laotian people against U.S. aggression. The democratic freedoms and the relations based on equality have been practised and guaranteed; the administration, elected at all levels by the people, takes care of all the political, economic and cutural activities,

assuring the order and security of the population; the bases of the economy, culture, education and public health have been progressively established. The liberated zone has taken on a new aspect, the spiritual and material life of the people has been improved, bit by bit.

Fifth: The fight of the Laotian people against U.S. aggression and for national salvation gains, each day that passes, a deep sympathy and a very strong support on the part of the fraternal peoples of Indochina, Africa, Asia and Latin America, as well as that of all peace-loving peoples of the world. The reason for this is that this just struggle is an integral part of the movement of struggle for peace, independence, democracy and social progress of the peoples of the world.

The people of Laos greatly appreciate the invaluable multilateral support given in the past, at present, and to be given in the future, by the fraternal peoples of Indochina, by the friendly and peace-loving peoples of the world.

As for themselves, the Laotian people consider it their most sacred international duty to support with all their strength the peoples who in Africa, Asia and Latin America, are fighting for peace, independence, democracy and social progress, and fight always at their side. They consider the intensification of their struggle against U.S. aggression as a real and concrete contribution to this struggle for the common cause.

Under the leadership of the revolutionary party of Laos these favorable conditions have taken form and have developed in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the people of Laos. These are the factors which have caused the step by step advance of the Laotian revolution, and constitute a sure guarantee for the attainment of the objetives of the Revolution.

U.S. imperialism extends its aggressions all over the world, committing innumerable crimes of an incredible nature, and represses most brutally the national liberation struggles of the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America. However, its hysterical intentions of aggression reveal its weakness more than ever. For thirteen years, the Laotian people have been aware that United States imperialism is not invincible. The people of Viet-Nam and of Korea have shown that it is possible to defeat it; the victory of the Cuban Revolution, a nation particularly near the United States, has confirmed this truth.

The policy of aggression of U.S. imperialism shall fail completely.

Imperialism shall be vanquished.
The peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America shall be independent and prosperous.

October 1967

COMMENTARIES ON UNDERDEVELOPMENT AND TRIBALISM

by Massemba Debat

President Alphonse Massemba Debat, Secretary General of the National Revolutionary Movement, former teacher who reached the Presidency of the Republic of the Congo (Brazzaville) as a result of the activity of the revolutionary movement of the trade unions and the people who overthrew the priest Foulbert Youlou, gave a special reception for the delegation of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America (OSPAAAL) which visited his country to make contacts and report on work carried out and prospective plans. During the meeting, the President made the following comments on various topics concerning the three continents:

ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

The difficulties of economic development in the Congo (Brazzaville) are due to the state of colonization that we have and are a consequence of a completely colonial economy existing in this country due to some colonial structures that are still maintained.

The great work that our Party must carry out is to modify, but in a rational way, these colonial structures, thus allowing the Con-

golese State to have an independent economy. At any rate, we can carry it out, as we have immense possibilities, as much in the field of mining as in forestry, and also because of our flourishing agriculture.

The most important thing is to create little by little a state sector, a cooperative sector, which allows the Congolese to increase control of their economy every day, until exclusive control is obtained; in other words, until the complete eradication of foreign economic control. We know, of course, that we cannot, for example, indicate stages; that is a long-term plan, but what has to be reached above all is an independent economy, and this is what we are working for right now.

THE PHENOMENON OF TRIBALISM

The imperialists proclaim that on the African continent there are internal conflicts caused by tribalism and they proclaim this with regard to the Congo (Brazzaville). They say this for their benefit, because they themselves have created this situation in the country.

Without doubt, there is a phenomenon that cannot be denied; it is that our continent, or at least each one of our countries, is inhabited by various tribes. However, the notion of tribes is perhaps much too restrictive, as sometimes there are tribes that are not tribes, but are really small clans or sub-clans. In fact, with imperialism, with colonialism, it has been possible to make a special tribe of a clan that, for example, belongs to a given tribe, whereas it is really the same people subdivided into clans. But precisely through the philosophy of capitalism and imperialism, which is to divide and conquer, each one of these clans has been made to believe that it constitutes a completely special tribe, although they have a common language and customs.

As a result of this, it can be said that there are, for example, 40 tribes in the Congo (Brazzaville), whereas, in reality, no more than approximately three tribes could exist, because the sub-tribes only constitute sub-clans or clans.

But it is imperialism which, with more or less diabolical methods, has justly contributed to creating this tribal division that, whether we like it or not, has certain repercussions on the country's political life.

In this way, the opportunists, the counter-revolutionaries, all those moved by ambition to seize some position, make use of the tribe.

But I must say that in the Congo (Brazzaville), since the Revolution of the 13th, 14th and 15th of August 1963, we are living in a new era and the Congolese people have rallied round the Party. In any case, the divisions that we can see from time to time, are sequels of the past. In any event we have a much greater cohesion, naturally very important, much stronger than anything that existed in the former state.

THREE CONTINENTS; IRREVERSIBLE HISTORY

The struggle in the Congo (Brazzaville) is a long one — it must be admitted — as is the struggle on the African, Asian and Latin American continents.

The imperialists still have certain advantages, as for example, economic ones. This is due to the weak economies of our states, that allow the imperialists to continue controlling the masses of the people in many places.

On the other hand, ignorance also exists, as educational and literacy campaigns have not been rationally carried out in all the states. So that, faced with the ignorance of a part of the masses, imperialism, which plays with ignorance, has obtained and still obtains some victories against our struggle.

Nevertheless, this must not discourage us. Quite the contrary. We know that history is irreversible and that sooner or later all these states of the three continents — I refer to Africa, Asia and Latin America — that are subjugated by imperialism will be completely freed from that yoke.

In all events, the efforts that are being undertaken right now in the three continents clearly show that the masses, once they have awakened, can easily mobilize themselves in complete solidarity and fight without ever retreating.

From all this we can say that the struggle is hard but the victory is ours. Cuba has demonstrated it; our small states like Guinea, Mali, Congo (Brazzaville), Tanzania and the UAR have also demonstrated it; we think that the example of Viet-Nam is so eloquent that we do not even have to mention it.

INTERNATIONALISM AND ANTI-IMPERIALISM

by Ernesto Che Guevara

The speech of Major Ernesto Che Guevara at the Afro-Asian Economic Seminar in Algiers in 1965.

A guerrilla leader shed his blood on the land of an Andean country, far away, landlocked, unknown to many. Throughout the world, but especially in Asia, Africa and Latin America, revolutionaries dip their banners to Ernesto Che Guevara, intellectual author and leader of *Guerrilla Warfare*. His was an example of a life dedicated completely to the Revolution, but he also left his work, his writings and his speeches.

More than two years ago, with the capital of Algeria as the setting, he left what may be considered his economic testament — or at least one facet of it. Some months later he would again take the road of the guerrillas as a result of his ideas. A man of action — and a man of words.

Again Algeria has been the site of an Afro-Asian economic event. This time, the meeting preceded the World Conference on Trade and Development, an organization which depends on the United Nations. The so-called "Group of Seventy-Seven," composed of nations of various political complexions, debated the road to follow for the economic construction of the underdeveloped world.

Two years ago, from the 22nd to the 27th of February 1965, an Afro-Asian Economic Seminar also took place in Algeria. The following important matters were discussed there: the economic liberation of the Afro-Asian peoples; social progress within the framework of economic independence; the development of economic relations and the new political economics of the countries of Asia, Africa and the rest of the world.

Ernesto Che Guevara, the leader of the Cuban delegation, gave a brief but meaningful speech. He did not need to use figures or statistical graphs to illustrate the situation of the Afro-Asian and Latin American world. He castigated imperialism severely and also made important references to the unequal exchange based on the prices that the law of values imposes on the underdeveloped countries. The idea of the fight for national liberation and the norms that must govern a true international proletarianism were clearly underlined.

While the seminar was taking place in Algiers the U.S. imperialists were mobilizing their men in the direction of South Viet-Nam. Tens of thousands of Marines would disembark on the beaches of Southeast Asia to undertake a new colonial war. And over North Viet-Nam, only a few days before the beginning of these meetings, there began a systematic bombardment launched by U.S. aircraft on a country of the socialist camp.

Lyndon Johnson, newly installed in the White House on January 20th, 1965, put into practice his foreign policy "program." A few months later,

on the 28th of April 1965, U.S. troops were disembarking in the Dominican Republic to fight for "representative democracy" and against the constitutional government that had overthrown the military junta. For four months Yankee troops would "formally" occupy the Dominican Republic. A veritable bloodbath would serve as a milestone, though not as a point of departure, for the Texan's policy.

These events were nothing more nor less than the brush strokes forming the backdrop of that seminar. It is not always thus. Sometimes it is preferable to seek economic absorption; or it may be even better to maintain this under the cloak of another flag and anthem and the loyal services of an "intellectual" educated in some European capital or of a new breed of military man. For the neo-colonialists and the imperialists the economic exploitation of the Afro-Asian world is an end in itself, the lifeblood that nourishes the monopolies. How are we to confront this colonial neo-strategy? How do we fight against this penetration? Coordination among the revolutionary governments and the liberation movements is essential. To discuss, to exchange experiences, to draft a program of action, to indicate solutions for the problems and to fight vehemently to put them into practice — a task for the true revolutionary of our times that cannot be postponed.

Would the World Conference on Trade and Development be the correct vehicle to solve these problems? The Afro-Asian peoples observe with keen interest the course of events and they are ready to find a way out for themselves. Ernesto Che Guevara did not place his hopes on these methods...

Dear Brothers:

Cuba attends this Conference to raise on her own the voice of the peoples of America, and also, as we have emphasized on other occasions, to do so in her condition as an underdeveloped nation which is, at the same time, building socialism. It is not by accident that our delegation is permitted to utter its opinion among the peoples of Asia and Africa. A common aspiration unites us in our march toward the future: the defeat of imperialism; a common past of struggle against the same enemy has united us along the road.

This is an assembly of struggling peoples, and this struggle is developing on two equally important fronts which demand all our efforts. The struggle against imperialism for liberation from the shackles of colonialism and neocolonialism, to be brought about through the use of political arms and firearms, or a combination of both, is not disconnected from the struggle against backwardness; both are steps on the same road leading toward the creation of a new society, at the same time rich and just. It is imperative to take political power and to liquidate the oppressor classes, but then we must face the second stage of the struggle which may perhaps have more difficult features than the previous one.

Ever since capitalist monopolies took over the world they have kept the greater part of humanity in poverty, dividing the spoils among the most powerful countries. The standard of living in those countries is founded on the misery of ours. Thus, in order to raise the standard of living of the underdeveloped peoples, there has to be a struggle against imperialism. And each time a country is lopped from the imperialist tree, this is not only a partial battle won against the principal enemy but also a contribution toward its real weakening, and a step toward the final victory.

There are no frontiers in this struggle to the death. We cannot remain indifferent to what happens anywhere in the world; a victory of any country over imperialism is a victory for us, and likewise, a defeat of any nation is a defeat for all. The practice of proletarian internationalism is not only a duty of the peoples who are struggling to secure a better future, but further, it is an unavoidable necessity. If the imperialist enemy, the United States or anyone else, unleashes its forces against the underdeveloped peoples and against the socialist countries, simple logic determines the

need for an alliance between the underdeveloped peoples and the socialist countries. Were there no other uniting factor, the common enemy should provide one.

Of course, this union cannot be made spontaneously, without discussions, without a prior upheaval which is sometimes very painful. Each time a country frees itself, as we have said, it is a defeat for the world imperialist system, but we must agree that the severance is not effected through the mere act of declaring independence or by obtaining an armed victory in a revolution. The break occurs when the imperialist economic sway over a people is terminated. Therefore, it is in the vital interests of the socialist countries that these separations take place. And it is our international duty, the duty determined by the ideology that guides us, to contribute with our efforts toward the swiftest and most profound liberation possible.

A conclusion must be reached from all this: the development of the countries now starting on the road to liberation must be at the cost of the socialist countries. We state it this way without intending any blackmail or dramatics whatsoever, or looking for an easy way of getting closer to the Afro-Asian peoples; this is a profound conviction. Socialism cannot exist without a change in conscience provoking a new fraternal attitude toward humanity, as much in the character of the individual in the society which is building or has built socialism, as in the world-wide attitude toward all peoples suffering from imperialist oppression.

We believe the responsibility for aiding dependent countries should be approached in such a spirit, and there should be no more talk about developing "for mutual benefit" trade based on prices imposed upon the underdeveloped countries by the law of values and on international relations of unequal exchange brought about by that law of values. How can one call "mutual benefit" the selling at world market prices of raw materials costing limitless toil and sacrifice to buy manufactured goods produced in large present-day automated factories?

If we establish that type of relation between the two groups of nations, we must agree that the socialist countries are, in a way, accomplices of imperialist exploitation. It can be argued that the amount of exchange with underdeveloped countries is an insignificant part of the foreign trade of those countries. It is very true, but it does not eliminate the immoral character of the trade.
The socialist countries have the moral duty of liquidating their tacit complicity with the exploiter countries of the West. The fact that trade is small today does not mean anything: in 1959 Cuba sold sugar only occasionally to a country of the socialist bloc, primarily through English brokers or brokers of other nationalities. Today, eighty

percent of her trade is with that area; all her vital supplies come from the socialist camp and she has, in fact, joined that camp. We cannot say that this has been brought about merely by the increase in trade, nor that trade has increased through the destruction of the old order and the embracing of the socialist form of development; both extremes touch each other and are interrelated.

We did not undertake the path that leads to communism forseeing all steps as the logical product of an ideological development that would advance with a determined goal. Socialist truth plus the naked truth of imperialism forged our people and showed them the path which we consciously adopted later. The peoples of Africa and Asia heading toward their definitive liberation should take the same path. They will follow it sooner or later, although their socialism may take any defining adjective today. There is no other definition of socialism valid for us than the abolition of exploitation of man by man. As long as this has not been achieved, we are in the stage of building a socialist society, and if, instead of achieving this goal, we find that the task of suppressing exploitation has come to a halt or even slips backward, it is not valid even to speak of building socialism.

We have to prepare conditions so that our brothers directly and consciously take the path of the decisive abolition of exploitation. but we cannot ask them to take that path if we ourselves are accomplices in such exploitation. If we were asked what are the methods of establishing equitable prices, we could not answer, because we do not know the practical magnitude of that question. We only know that, after political discussions, the Soviet Union and Cuba have signed agreements advantageous for us, by means of which we will sell five million tons of sugar at fixed prices above those of the so-called free world sugar market. The People's Republic of China also pays these prices.

This is only the groundwork; the real task consists in establishing prices permitting development. A great change of conception would be to change the order of international relations; foreign trade should not determine policy but, on the contrary, it should be subordinated to a fraternal policy toward the peoples.

Let us briefly analyse the problem of long-term credits for developing basic industries. We frequently find that beneficiary countries are keen to install industrial plants too large for their actual possibilities, whose products will not be consumed in their territories, compromising their reserves in the effort. Our reasoning is that socialist states' investments in their own territories weigh directly on the state budget and are only recovered by the use of the products in the elaboration process up to the very end of manufacture. We propose

that some thought be given to the possibility of making this type of investment in underdeveloped countries.

In this way an immense underlying force in our continents, miserably exploited but never aided in their development, could be put into motion, and a new stage of authentic international division of labour could be begun, based not on the history of what has been done up to now, but on what can be done in the future.

The states in whose territories the new investments are to be made will have all the inherent rights of sovereign property over them, without any payments or credits. The possessor is obliged to supply predetermined quantities of products to the investing countries for a certain number of years and at specific prices.

The method of financing the local part of the expenses incurred by the country engaged in investments of this kind is also worthy of study. The supplying of marketable goods on long-term credits to governments of underdeveloped countries would be one form of aid not requiring the expenditure of freely convertible funds.

Another of the difficult problems to solve is the mastering of technique. The shortage of technicians experienced by developing countries is well known to all.

Institutions of education and learning are lacking. Sometimes an active awareness of our needs and the decision to carry through, as a first priority, the policy of technical, cultural and ideological development are also absent.

The socialist countries should supply the aid for the organization of centers of technical education; they should insist on the paramount importance of this and supply technicians to fill the present need. It is necessary to insist further on this last point.

Technicians coming to our countries must be exemplary. They are comrades who must face a strange environment, often hostile to technique, speaking a different language and with totally different customs. The technicians confronted with this difficult task should be, first of all, communists in the most profound and noble sense of the word. With this sole quality, plus a minimun of organization and flexibility, wonders will be performed.

We know it can be done because brother countries have sent us a certain number of technicians who have done more toward the development of our country than ten institutes, and have contributed more to mutual friendship than ten ambassadors or a hundred diplomatic receptions.

If we could achieve the ends mentioned, and also put within the reach of all the underdeveloped countries all the technology of the advanced ones, without using the present method of patents protect-

ing the discoveries of different nations, we would progress greatly in our common task.

Imperialism has been defeated in many partial battles, but it is still a considerable force in the world, and we cannot hope for its final defeat except through the effort and sacrifice of us all.

The aggregate of the measures proposed, however, cannot be taken unilaterally. We agree that the development of the underdeveloped countries should be paid for by the socialist countries. But the forces of the underdeveloped countries must also be brought into play and they must firmly follow the road of building a new society — whatever name it may take — where the machine, an instrument of work, may not be an instrument of exploitation of man by man. Neither can the confidence of socialist countries be expected if one vacillates between capitalism and socialism, trying to use both forces as counterweights in order to gain certain advantages from such competition. A new policy of absolute, seriousness should govern the relations between the two groups of societies. It is necessary to emphasize, once more, that the means of production should be, preferably, in the hands of the state, so that the signs of exploitation may gradually disappear.

On the other hand, development cannot be abandoned to absolute improvisation; it is necessary to plan the building of the new society. Planning is one of the laws of socialism, without which it would not exist. Without correct planning there cannot be sufficient guarantees that all the economic sectors of any one country can be blended hamoniously to produce the forward strides which the epoch in which we live demands. Planning is not an isolated problem of each one of our small countries, distorted in their development, possessors of some raw materials or producers of some manufactured or semi-manufactured goods but lacking in most others. From the very first, planning should tend toward regional groupings in order to coordinate the economies of countries and thus arrive at the integration of a genuine mutual benefit.

We believe that the present road is full of dangers, dangers not contemplated or foreseen for a distant future by some superior mind, but the obvious results of the present searing realities. The fight against colonialism has reached its final stages, but in the present era the colonial status is only a consequence of imperialist domination. As long as imperialism exists, by definition, it will exert its domination over other countries. That domination is today called neo-colonialism.

Neo-colonialism was developed first in South America, in the whole continent, and today begins to be noted with increasing intensity in Africa and Asia. Its forms of development and penetration have distinct characteristics. One is the

brutal aggression we witness in the Congo. Brute force without consideration or disguise is its ultimate weapon. There is another more subtle one: the political penetration in liberated countries, unity with the growing indigenous bourgeoisie, the development of a parasitic bourgeoisie closely linked to foreign capitalist interests and favoured by a certain sense of well-being or a transitory raising of the standard of living of the peoples — because in a very backward country the simple step from feudal to capitalist relations implies a great advance, notwithstanding the fatal consequences that it may eventually have for the workers.

Neo-colonialism has shown its claws in the Congo. That is not a sign of power but of weakness; it had to revert to force, its ultimate weapon, as an economic argument. This engenders opposing reactions of great intensity. But it is also practised in another series of countries of Africa and Asia in a much more subtle way and is rapidly creating what some have called the South Americanization of those continents, that is, the development of a parasitic bourgeoisie adding nothing to the national wealth but, on the contrary, depositing, outside the in capitalist banks, their huge ill-gotten gains, and making pacts with foreigners to obtain more benefits with absolute disregard for the well-being of their people.

There are also other dangers such as competition between fraternal countries, politically friendly and sometimes neighbours, competing for the same investments at the same time and for markets that often cannot accept the goods. This competition has the disadvantage of wasting energies that could be used to much greater economic benefit; moreover, it concedes power to the imperialist monopolies.

Faced with the real impossibility of carrying out a definite project with the help of the socialist camp, on certain occasions this is done by agreement with the capitalists. But these capitalist investments have not only the disadvantage of the manner in which the loans are made but also others of great importance, such as the establishment of joint corporations with a dangerous neighbour.

As, generally, investments are parallel with those of other states, they tend toward divisions between friendly countries because of economic differences, as well as renewing the danger of corruption emanating from the constant danger of capitalism, skillful in the presentation of images of development and well-being that cloud the understanding of many people.

Later on, the consequences of a saturation of similar products is the fall of prices in the market. The affected countries find themselves under the obligation of requesting new loans or permitting additional investment for competition. The falling of the economy into the hands of monopolies and the slow but certain return to the past is

the ultimate consequence of such a policy. To our way of thinking, the only sure way of investing with imperialist power participation is for the state to have a direct share as the sole buyer of goods, limiting imperialist action to the contracting of supplies, and not permitting them to go beyond the front doors of our homes. And here it is just and proper to take advantage of imperialist contradictions in order to secure less burdensome terms.

It is necessary to pay attention to the "disinterested" economic, cultural and other aid which imperialism grants directly, or by way of puppet states which are better received in certain parts of the world.

If the dangers pointed out are not seen in time, the neo-colonial road may be opened — in countries that have begun with faith and enthusiasm their task of national liberation — establishing monopoly domination with such gradual subtlety as to render detection difficult until after its effects have made themselves brutally felt.

There is a great task to undertake. Gigantic problems confront our two worlds, that of the socialist countries and the one called the Third World, problems directly related to man and his well-being and to the struggle against the main cause of our backwardness. In the face of them, all countries and peoples aware of their duties, of the dangers implied by their situation, of the sacrifices demanded by development, should take concrete measures to seal our friendship in the two fields — the economic and the political — that can never advance separately, and to organize a great, compact bloc which in turn will help new countries to free themselves not only from imperialist political power but from its economic power as well.

The question of armed liberation from the clutches of a political oppressor should be treated according to the rules of proletarian internationalism. If it is absurd to think that the director of an enterprise in a socialist country at war would be doubtful about sending to a front the tanks he produces when there is no guarantee of payment, no less absurd is the inquiry about the possibility of payment from a people fighting for liberation or needing arms to defend their freedom. Arms cannot be a commodity in our world. They should be delivered at no cost at all, and in the necessary and available quantities, to the peoples seeking them for use against the common enemy. That is the spirit in which the USSR and the People's Republic of China have offered us their military aid. We are socialists, we constitute a guarantee of the utilization of those arms, but we are not the only ones. All of us should receive the same treatment.

To the ominous attack by United States imperialism against Viet-Nam and the Congo, the answer should be the supplying of all the

instruments of defence they may need and the offering of our full and unconditional solidarity.

On the economic front, we must take the road to development with the most advanced techniques available. We cannot follow the long, tortuous road of humanity from feudalism to the atomic and automated era. This would lead to many great sacrifices and would be almost useless. It is necessary to use advanced techniques wherever possible to achieve the great technical advances required to reduce the differences existing between the more developed countries and ourselves. This should develop in the form of large factories and in a properly developed agriculture as well. And above all, it should build its foundation on a technical and ideological culture with enough mass support and power to permit continuous nurturing of the institutes and research centers that must be created in each country, and to allow for the continuous education who may be capable of adapting of men, using present methods, themselves to newly acquired techniques.

These cadres must be aware of their duties toward the society in which they live. There can be no adequate technical culture without a complementary ideological culture. In most of our countries a proper foundation for industrial development, which determines the development of a modern society, could not exist if a beginning were not made by securing the necessary food, the most essential consumer goods and adequate education for the people.

A good part of national revenues must be spent on so-called unproductive investments in education, and special attention must be given to the development of agricultural productivity. This has reached unbelievable levels indeed in many capitalist countries, provoking the senseless crisis of overproduction, a surplus of grain and other nutrients or a surplus of industrial raw materials originating in advanced countries, when there is a whole world suffering from hunger with enough land and men to produce several times what the entire world needs to feed its people.

Agriculture must be considered a fundamental pillar for development, and for this, changes in the agricultural structure, adjustments to the new technical possibilities and the duty to eliminate the exploitation of man should be fundamental aspects of the work.

Before making costly decisions that could cause irreparable damage, a careful survey of the national territory is needed. This is one of the preliminary steps in economic research and a primary requirement for correct planning.

We warmly support Algeria's proposition for institutionalizing our relations. We wish only to present certain complementary proposals: First, for the union to be an instrument for the struggle against imperialism, the cooperation of Latin American countries

and the alliance of the socialist countries is necessary.

Second, we must watch over the revolutionary character of the union, preventing the intrusion of governments or movements not identified with the general aspirations of the people, and creating mechanisms to effect the separation of anyone deviating from the just road, be it a government or a popular movement.

Third, we must advocate the establishment of new relations creating a revolutionary jurisprudence to defend us in case of conflict and to give new meaning to the relations between us and the rest of the world.

We speak a revolutionary language and we honestly fight for the triumph of that cause. But many times we entangle ourselves in the nets of an international law created as the result of confrontations of the imperialist powers and not by the struggle of the free peoples, of the just peoples.

Our peoples, for instance, suffer from the painful pressure of foreign bases established in their territories, or have to carry the heavy burdens of external debts of incredible magnitude.

The history of these tales is well known to us all. Puppet governments, governments weakened by long struggles for liberation or by the development of the capitalist laws of the market have permitted the signing of treaties endangering internal stability and compromising our future.

This is the time to shake off the yoke, to impose renegotiation of oppressive external debts, and to force the imperialists to abandon their bases of aggression.

I would not want to finish these words, this repetition of concepts you all know, without calling the attention of this seminar to the fact that Cuba is not the only American country, it is simply the only one which has the opportunity to speak before you today, and other countries are shedding their blood to gain the rights we have. And from here, and from all conferences, and from all places where they may be held, along with our greetings to the heroic peoples of Viet-Nam, of Laos, of so-called "Portuguese" Guinea, of South Africa, or of Palestine, of all the exploited countries fighting for their emancipation we should, at the same time, send our greetings and our friendship, and extend our hand to our brothers of Venezuela, Guatemala and Colombia who today are taking up arms and are saying a determined NO! to the imperialist enemy.

And there are few platforms so symbolic as Algiers, one of the most heroic capitals of freedom, at which to affirm this. Let the magnificent Algerian people, trained as few have been in suffering for independence, under the decisive leadership of their Party, with our dear comrade Ahmed Ben Bella at its head, serve us as an inspiration in this fight without quarter against world imperialism.

ARMS AGAINST THE BOURGEOISIE

by V. I. Lenin

The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution

From 1916 Lenin was found in the forefront among those who severely censured the opportunists and who, using revolutionary language, and on occasions "marxists" phrases, called for class conciliation, for disarmament before the bourgeoisie. History would prove that the proletarian revolution could triumph in a single state, breaking the chains at the weakest point. Lenin pointed out that the unequal development of capitalism invalidated the thesis sustained by Marx that the proletarian revolution could only triumph if it took place simultaneously in all countries or at least in the most developed ones. *Ten Days that Shook the World* would demonstrate the truth of the Leninist theory. Today nobody remember Mártov, Vandervelde or Pressmane, just to mention only some of the detractors of Lenin's theses. Nevertheless, the figure of Vladimir Ulianov attains world stature on the commemoration of the 50th Anniversary of the workers and peasants' state which he founded and led during the first years.

If there were opportunists and pseudo-revolutionaries yesterday, we also find them today, deeply embedded in the revolutionary movement. To go over, re-read and meditate on *The Military Programme of the Proletarian Revolution,* written in September 1916, a year before the workers and peasants attacked the Winter Palace destroying the foundations of the Czarist regime, represents a clarification of revolutionary theses, ideas, concepts of prime importance.

In Holland, Scandinavia and Switzerland, voices are heard among the revolutionary Social Democrats of those who are combating the social-chauvinist lies about "defence of the Homeland" in the present imperialist war, in favour of substituting for the old point in the Social Democratic minimum programme: "militia", or "the armed nation," a new one: "disarmament." **Jugend - Internationale** has inaugurated a discussion on this question and published in Nº 3 an editorial article in favour of disarmament. In R. Grimm's latest theses, we regret to note, there is also a concession to the "disarmament" idea. Discussions have been started in the periodicals **Neues Leben** and **Vorbote.**

Let us examine the position of the advocates of disarmament.

I

The main argument is that the demand for disarmament is the clearest, most decisive, most consistent expression of the struggle against all militarism and against all war.

But this main argument is precisely the principal error of the advocates of disarmament. Socialists cannot, without ceasing to be socialists, be opposed to all war.

In the first place, socialists have never been, nor can they ever be, opposed to revolutionary wars. The bourgeoisie of the "Great" imperialist Powers has become thoroughly reactionary, and we regard the war which this bourgeoisie is now waging as a reactionary, slaveholder and criminal war. But what about a war against this bourgeoisie? For example, a war waged by people who are oppressed by and dependent upon this bourgeoisie, or by colonial peoples for their liberation? In the theses of the Internationale group, on p. 5 we read: "In the era of this unbridled imperialism there can be no more national wars of any kind." This is obviously wrong.

The history of the twentieth century, this century of "unbridled imperialism," is replete with colonial wars. But what we Europeans, the imperialist oppressors of the majority of the peoples of the world, with our habitual, despicable European chauvinism, call "colonial wars" are often national wars, or national rebellions of those oppressed peoples. One of the main features of imperialism is that it accelerates the development of capitalism in the most backward countries, and thereby widens and intensifies the struggle against national oppression. This is a fact. It inevitably follows

from this that imperialism must often give rise to national wars. Junius, who in his pamphlet defends the above "theses," says that in the imperialist epoch every national war against one of the imperialist Great Powers leads to the intervention of another competing imperialist Great Power, and thus every national war is converted into an imperialist war. But this argument is also wrong. This may happen, but it does not always happen. Many colonial wars in the period between 1900 and 1914 did not follow this road. And it would be simply ridiculous if we declared, for instance, that after the present war, if it ends in the extreme exhaustion of all the belligerents, "there can be no" national, progressive, revolutionary wars "whatever," waged, say, by China in alliance with India, Persia, Siam, etc., against the Great Powers.

To deny all possibility of national wars under imperialism is wrong in theory, obviously mistaken historically, and in practice is tantamount to European chauvinism: we who belong to nations that oppress hundreds of millions of people in Europe, Africa, Asia, etc., must tell the oppressed peoples that it is "impossible" for them to wage war against "our" nations!

Secondly, civil wars are also wars. Whoever recognises the class struggle cannot fail to recognise civil wars, which in every class society are the natural, and under certain conditions inevitable, continuation, development and intensification of the class struggle. All the great revolutions prove this. To repudiate civil war, or to forget about it, would mean sinking into extreme opportunism and renouncing the socialist revolution.

Thirdly, the victory of socialism in one country does not at one stroke eliminate all war in general. On the contrary, it presupposes such wars. The development of capitalism proceeds extremely unevenly in the various countries. It cannot be otherwise under the commodity production system. From this it follows irrefutably that socialism cannot achieve victory simultaneously in all countries. It will achieve victory first in one or several countries, while the others will remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois for some time. This creates not only friction but a direct striving on the part of the bourgeoisie of other countries to crush the victorious proletariat of the socialist state. In such cases, a war on our part would be a legitimate and just war. It would be a war for socialism, for the liberation of other nations from the bourgeoisie. Engels was perfectly right when, in his letter to Kautsky, September 12, 1882, he openly admitted that it was possible for already victorious socialism to wage "defensive wars." What he had in mind was defence of the victorious proletariat against the bourgeoisie of other countries.

Only after we have overthrown, finally vanquished, and expropriated the bourgeoisie of the whole world, and not only of one country, will wars become impossible. And from a scientific point of view it would be utterly wrong and utterly unrevolutionary for us to evade or gloss over the most important thing: namely, that the most difficult task, the one demanding the greatest amount of fighting in the transition to socialism, is to crush the resistance of the bourgeoisie. "Social" persons and opportunists are always ready to dream about the future peaceful socialism; but the very thing that distinguishes them from revolutionary Social Democrats is that they refuse to think about and reflect on the fierce class struggle and class wars that are necessary for the achievement of this beautiful future.

We must not allow ourselves to be led astray by words. The term "defence of the Homeland," for instance, is hateful to many, because the avowed opportunists and the Kautskyites use it to cover up and gloss over the lies of the bourgeoisie in the present predatory war. This is a fact. It does not follow from this, however, that we must forget to ponder over the meaning of political slogans. Recognising "defence of the Homeland" in the present war is nothing more nor less than recognising it as a "just" war, a war in the interests of the proletariat —nothing more nor less, we repeat, because invasions may occur in any war. It would be simply foolish to repudiate "defence of the Homeland" on the part of the oppressed nations in their wars against the imperialist Great Powers, or on the part of a victorious proletariat in its war against some Galliffet of a bourgeois state.

Theoretically, it would be quite wrong to forget that every war is but the continuation of politics by other means; the present imperialist war is the continuation of the imperialist politics of two groups of Great Powers, and these politics are engendered and fostered by the sum total of the relationships of the imperialist epoch. But this very epoch must also necessarily engender and foster the politics of struggle against national oppression and of the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie, and therefore also the possibility and the inevitability, first, of revolutionary national rebellions and wars; second, of proletarian wars and rebellions against the bourgeoisie; and, third, of a combination of both kinds of revolutionary war, etc.

II

To this must be added the following general considerations.

An oppressed class which does not strive to learn to use arms, to acquire arms, only deserves to be treated like slaves. We cannot forget, unless we become bourgeois pacifists or opportunists, that we are living in a class society, that there is no way out of this society,

and there can be none, except by means of the class struggle. In every class society, whether it is based on slavery, serfdom, or, as at present, on wage labour, the oppressing class is armed. Not only the modern standing army, but even the modern militia —even in the most democratic bourgeois republics, in Switzerland, for example— represent the bourgeoisie armed against the proletariat.

This is such an elementary truth that it is hardly necessary to dwell upon it. It is sufficient to recall the use of troops against strikers in all capitalist countries.

The fact that the bourgeoisie is armed against the proletariat is one of the biggest, most fundamental, and most important facts in modern capitalist society. And in face of this fact, revolutionary Social-Democrats are urged to "demand disarmament!" This is tantamount to the complete abandonment of the point of view of the class struggle, the renunciation of all thought of revolution. Our slogan must be: the arming of the proletariat for the purpose of vanquishing, expropriating and disarming the bourgeoisie. These are the only tactics a revolutionary class can adopt, tactics which follow logically from the whole objective development of capitalist militarism, and dictated by that development. Only after the proletariat has disarmed the bourgeoisie will it be able, without betraying its world historical mission, to throw all armaments on the scrap heap; and the proletariat will undoubtedly do this, but only when this condition has been fulfilled, certainly not before.

If the present war rouses among the reactionary Christian Socialists, among the whimpering petty bourgeoisie, only horror and fright, only aversion to all use of arms and to bloodshed, death, etc., then we must say: capitalist society is always an endless horror. And if this most reactionary of all wars is now preparing a horrible end for that society, we have no reason to drop into despair. At a time when, as everyone can see, the bourgeoisie itself is paving the way for the only legitimate and revolutionary war — namely, civil war against the imperialist bourgeoisie — the "demand" for disarmament, or more correctly, the dream of disarmament, is, objectively, nothing but an expression of despair.

Let us remind those who will say that this is a theory divorced from life, of the following facts from history: the role of trusts and the employment of women in industry, on the one hand; and the Paris Commune of 1871 and the December uprising of 1905 in Russia, on the other.

The business of the bourgeoisie is to promote trusts, to drive women and children into the factories, to torture them there, to corrupt them, to condemn them to extreme poverty. We do not "demand" such

a development. We do not "support" it; we fight it. But how do we fight? We know that trusts and the employment of women in industry are progressive. We do not want to go back to the handicraft system, to pre-monopolistic capitalism, to domestic drudgery for women. Forward through the trusts, etc. and beyond them to socialism!

This argument is, with some necessary changes, applicable also to the present militarisation of the people. Today the imperialist bourgeoisie militarises not only the adults, but also the youth. Tomorrow, it may proceed to militarise the women. To this we must say: All the better! Go ahead faster! The faster it goes, the nearer shall we be to the armed uprising against capitalism. How can Social-Democrats allow themselves to be frightened by the militarisation of the youth, etc. if they have not forgotten the example of the Paris Commune? This is not a "theory divorced from life," it is not a dream, but a fact. It would be very bad indeed if, notwithstanding all the economic and political facts, Social-Democrats began to doubt that the imperialist epoch and imperialist wars must inevitably bring about a repetition of such facts.

A certain bourgeois observer of the Paris Commune, writing to an English newspaper in May 1871, said: "If the French nation consisted entirely of women, what a terrible nation it would be!" Women, and children of thirteen and upwards, fought in the Paris Commune side by side with the men. Nor can it be different in the forthcoming battles for the overthrow of the bourgeoisie. The proletarian women will not look on passively while the well-armed bourgeoisie shoot down the poorly-armed or unarmed workers. They will take to arms as they did in 1871, and from the cowed nations of today —or more correctly, from the present-day working class movement, which is disorganised more by the opportunists than by the governments— there will undoubtedly arise, sooner or later, but with absolute certainty, an international league of the "terrible nations" of the revolutionary proletariat.

Militarism is now permeating the whole of social life. Imperialism is a fierce struggle of the Great Powers for the division and redivision of the world —therefore, it must inevitably lead to further militarisation in all countries, even in the neutral and small countries. What will the proletarian women do against it? Only curse all war and everything military, only demand disarmament? The women of an oppressed class that is really revolutionary will never consent to play such a shameful role. They will say to their sons: "You will soon be a man. You will be given a gun. Take it and learn the military art. The proletarians need this knowledge — not to shoot your brothers, the workers of other countries, as they are doing in the present war, and as you are being

told to do by the traitors to socialism, but to fight the bourgeoisie of your own country, to put an end to exploitation, poverty and war, not by means of good intentions, but by vanquishing the bourgeoisie and by disarming it."

If we are to refrain from conducting such propaganda, precisely such propaganda, in connection with the present war, then we had better stop using highfalutin phrases about international revolutionary Social-Democracy, about the socialist revolution, and about war against war.

III

The advocates of disarmament oppose the point in the program about the "armed nation" for the reason, among others, that this demand, they allege, easily leads to concessions to opportunism. We have examined above the most important point, namely the relation of disarmament to the class struggle and to the social revolution. We will now examine the relation between the demand for disarmament and opportunism. One of the most important reasons why this demand is unacceptable is precisely that it, and the illusions it creates, inevitably weaken and devitalise our struggle against opportunism.

Undoubtedly this struggle is the main question now confronting the Internationale. A struggle against imperialism that is not closely linked up with the struggle against opportunism is an idle phrase, or a fraud. One of the main defects of Zimmerwald and Kienthal, one of the main reasons why these embryos of the Third International may possibly end in a fiasco, is that the question of the struggle against opportunism was not even raised openly, much less decided in the sense of proclaiming the necessity of a rupture with the opportunists. Opportunism has triumphed —temporarily— in the European working-class movement. Two main shades of opportunism have arisen in all the big countries: first, the avowed, cynical, and therefore less dangerous social-imperialism of Messrs. Plekhanov, Scheidemann, Legien, Albert Thomas and Sembat, Vandervelde, Hyndman, Henderson, et al.; second, the concealed, Kautskian opportunism: Kautsky-Haase and the Social-Democratic Labour Group in Germany; Longuet, Pressmane, Mayeras, et al. in France; Ramsay MacDonald and the other leaders of the Independent Labour Party in England; Martov, Chkheidze and others in Russia; Treves and the other so-called Left reformists in Italy.

Avowed opportunism is openly and directly opposed to revolution and to the incipient revolutionary movements and outbursts, and is in direct alliance with the governments, varied as the forms of this alliance may be: from participation in Cabinets to participation in the War Industry Committees (in Russia). The masked opportunists, the Kautskyites, are much more harmful and dangerous to the working-class movement, because they hide

their advocacy of an alliance with the former under a cloak of plausible, pseudo-Marxist catchwords and pacifist slogans. The fight against both these forms of prevailing opportunism must be conducted in all fields of proletarian politics: parliament, trade unions, strikes, military affairs, etc. The main distinguishing feature of both these forms of prevailing opportunism is that the concrete question of the connection between the present war and revolution as well as other concrete questions of revolution is hushed up, concealed or treated with an eye to police prohibitions. And this is done, notwithstanding the fact that before the war the connection between precisely this war that was impending and the proletarian revolution was pointed to innumerable times, both unofficially, and in the Basle Manifesto officially. The main defect in the demand for disarmament is its evasion of all the concrete questions of revolution. Or do the advocates of disarmament stand for a perfectly new species of unarmed revolution?

To proceed. We are by no means opposed to the fight for reforms. We do not wish to ignore the sad possibility that humanity may —if the worst comes to the worst— go through a second imperialist war, if, in spite of the numerous outbursts of mass unrest and mass discontent, and in spite of our efforts, revolution does not come out of the present war. We are in favour of a programme of reforms which is also directed against the opportunists. The opportunists would be only too glad if we left the struggle for reforms entirely to them, and, saving ourselves by flight from sad reality, sought shelter in the heights above the clouds in some sort of "disarmament." "Disarmament" means simply running away from unpleasant reality and certainly not fighting against it.

In such a program we would say something like this: "The slogan and the recognition of defence of the Homeland in the imperialist war of 1914-16 is only a means of corrupting the working-class movement with the aid of a bourgeois lie." Such a concrete reply to concrete questions would be theoretically more correct, much more useful to the proletariat and more unbearable to the opportunists, than the demand for disarmament and the repudiation of "all" defence of the fatherland. And we might add: "The bourgeoisie of all the imperialist Great Powers —England, France, Germany, Austria, Russia, Italy, Japan, the United States— has become so reactionary and so imbued with the striving for world domination, that any war conducted by the bourgeoisie of those countries can be nothing but reactionary. The proletariat must not only oppose all such wars, but must also wish for the defeat of its 'own' government in such wars and utilise it for revolutionary insurrection, if an insurrection to prevent the war proves unsuccessful."

On the question of a militia, we should say: We are not in favour

of a bourgeois militia; we are in favour only of a proletarian militia. Therefore, "not a penny, not a man," not only for a standing army, but even for a bourgeois militia, even in countries like the United States, or Switzerland, Norway, etc.; the more so that in the freest republican countries (e.g. Switzerland), we see that the militia is being more and more Prussianised, particularly in 1907 and 1911; it is being prostituted, mobilised against strikers. We can demand election of officers by the people, abolition of all military law, equal rights for foreign and native-born workers (a point particularly important for those imperialist states which, like Switzerland, more and more blatantly exploit increasing numbers of foreign workers while refusing to grant them rights); further, the right of every hundred, say, of the inhabitants of the given country to form voluntary military training associations, with free election of instructors, who are to be paid by the state, etc. Only under such conditions could the proletariat acquire military training really for itself and not for its slaveholders, and the need for such training is imperatively dictated by the interests of the proletariat. The Russian Revolution showed that every success of the revolutionary movement, even a partial success like winning a certain city, a certain industrial village, a certain section of the army —would inevitably compel the victorious proletariat to carry out just such a program.

Finally, it goes without saying that opportunism cannot be fought merely by means of programs; it can be fought only by constant vigilance to see that they are really carried out. The greatest, the fatal error the bankrupt Second Internationale committed was that its words did not correspond to its deeds, that it acquired the habit of hyprocrisy and shameless revolutionary phrase-mongering (note the present attitude of Kautsky and Co. towards the Basle Manifesto). Disarmament as a social idea, i.e., an idea that springs from a certain social environment and which can affect a certain social environment —and is not merely a cranky notion of an individual —has evidently sprung from the exceptionally "tranquil" conditions of life prevailing in certain small states which for a rather long time have stood aside from the bloody world highway of war and hope to stay aside. To be convinced of this, it is sufficient, for instance, to ponder over the arguments advanced by the Norwegian advocates of disarmament. "We are a small country," they say. "We have a small army, we can do nothing against the Great Powers" (and are, therefore, also powerless to resist being forcibly drawn into an imperialist alliance with one or another group of Great Powers)... "We want to be left in peace in our remote corner and continue to conduct our parochial politics, to demand disarmament, compulsory courts of arbitration, permanent neutrality, etc." ("permanent" after the Belgian fashion, no

doubt?).

The petty striving of petty states to stand aside, the petty-bourgeois desire to keep as far away as possible from the great battles of world history, to take advantage of one's relatively monopolistic position in order to remain in hidebound passivity —this is the objective social environment which may ensure the disarmament idea a certain degree of success and a certain striving is reactionary and entirely based on illusions; for in one way or another, imperialism draws the small states into the vortex of world economy and world politics.

In Switzerland, for example, the imperialist environment objectively prescribes two lines to the working-class movement: the opportunists, in alliance with the bourgeoisie, are trying to convert Switzerland into a republican-democratic monopolistic federation for obtaining profits from imperialist bourgeois tourists and to make this "tranquil" monopolistic position as profitable and as tranquil as possible.

The genuine Social-Democrats of Switzerland are striving to take advantage of the comparative freedom of Switzerland and its "international" situation to help the close alliance of the revolutionary elements of the workers' parties in Europe to achieve victory. Switzerland, thank God, has not "a separate language of its own" but three world languages, precisely those that are spoken in the adjacent belligerent countries.

If the twenty thousand members of the Swiss party were to pay a weekly levy of two centimes as a sort of "extra war tax," we would have about twenty thousand francs per annum, a sum more than sufficient to enable us periodically to publish in three languages and to distribute among the workers and soldiers of the belligerent countries —in spite of the ban of the General Staffs— all the material containing the truth about the disorders that are beginning among the workers, about their fraternising in the trenches, about their hope to use their arms in a revolutionary manner against the imperialist bourgeoisie of their "own" countries, etc.

All this is not new. This is exactly what is being done by the best papers, such as **La Sentinelle**, **Volksrecht** and the **Berner Tagwacht**, although, unfortunately, not on a sufficiently large scale. Only by such activity can the splendid decision of the Aarau Party Congress become something more than merely a splendid decision.

The question that interests us now is: Does the demand for disarmament correspond to the revolutionary trend among the Swiss Social-Democrats? Obviously not. Objectively, disarmament is an extremely national, a specifically national programme of small states; it is certainly not the international programme of international revolutionary Social-Democracy.

LAOS AND THE IMPERIALIST STRATEGY

by Carlos Lechuga

A statement by the Assistant Secretary General of OSPAAAL who visited this key area of Indo-China.

Indochina is one of the zones of the world where the history of colonialism and imperialism has been most sanguinary. Geographically of great strategic importance to its exploiters and long coveted by international monopolies for its fabulous wealth in mineral resources, Indochina has been the scene of repeated and violent convulsions and its people have time and again been forced to struggle heroically against criminal invaders, unscrupulous businessmen and, above all, against the deprivation and misery left in their wake. Within this zone, and covering 231 thousand square kilometers of its territory, lies Laos, which the U.S. imperialists have compared to a dagger sunk into the heart of Southeast Asia.

Laos indeed occupies a key position in Indochina and, consequently, in all of turbulent Southeast Asia, because of both its geographical position and its political weight in the complex panorama of current forces in that area. Totally landlocked and stretching for more than one thousand kilometers through the heart of Indochina, its shape may well be compared with that of a dagger. It may also be seen as a key, capable of placing numerous obstacles in the path of the Asian Revolution and, in consequence, in the path of the cause of liberation of all the peoples of the world should its territory be totally dominated by imperialist forces.

The present struggle in Laos is of prime importance, not only for the independence of its people but for the entire world. At the same time, an intimate and vital vinculum exists between Laos and the destiny of its neighbor countries. Any analysis of the importance of the heroic struggle of the Laotian people must take into account the characteristics of these neighboring countries, with their differing political regimes, all of which would be threatened by a change in the situation in Laos. To the east and northeast, Laos is bordered by two socialist countries, the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam and the People's Republic of China. To the south is neutral Cambodia. To the west lies Thailand, imperialism's base for its policy of aggression in all of Southeast Asia, and to the northwest, Burma, neutral and nationalist. In the center of this delicate mosaic, Laos constitutes a fundamental point of equilibrium. To upset this delicate equilibrium in one direction or another would be to incline the scale sharply in favor of liberty or exploitation.

A presentation of the struggle of a people in terms of the consequences that would derive from the realization of a negative hypothesis is perhaps convenient as a means of throwing light on the situation and of bringing the strategy of the enemy into clear focus. In this way we may avoid any possible misconceptions and, at the same time, alert public opinion in regard to a given front and to the necessity — and duty — of practising active solidarity with a people that is defending, at great sacrifice, our common cause.

Occupation of the territory of Laos by the U.S. imperialists — for which preparations are being rapidly pushed ahead — would place the imperialists in a position to threaten the integrity of North Viet-Nam and China. The realization of this eventuality would make it possible for the imperialists to combine their forces in Laos with those in South Viet-Nam to undermine the revolution in all of Southeast Asia. The territory of Laos would become a springboard from which to attack

the neutralist policy of Cambodia, and Laos, itself, would become a frontal screen for U.S. military bases in Thailand. This is the plan pursued by the aggressors and it is the plan that must be destroyed. This, in brief, is the negative hypothesis.

What is the situation at this moment? Despite constant siege by the imperialists and their puppets, two-thirds of Laos and one-half of its population have been liberated. The popular forces maintain a firm rate of progress and the achievements obtained — political and economic, as well as military — are being steadily consolidated. Ten years ago, only two provinces were free of imperialist domination. The path trodden since then by the Laotian Revolution has been difficult and filled with dangers and setbacks, but an intelligent and correct policy, combined with an iron will to triumph, has rendered positive results.

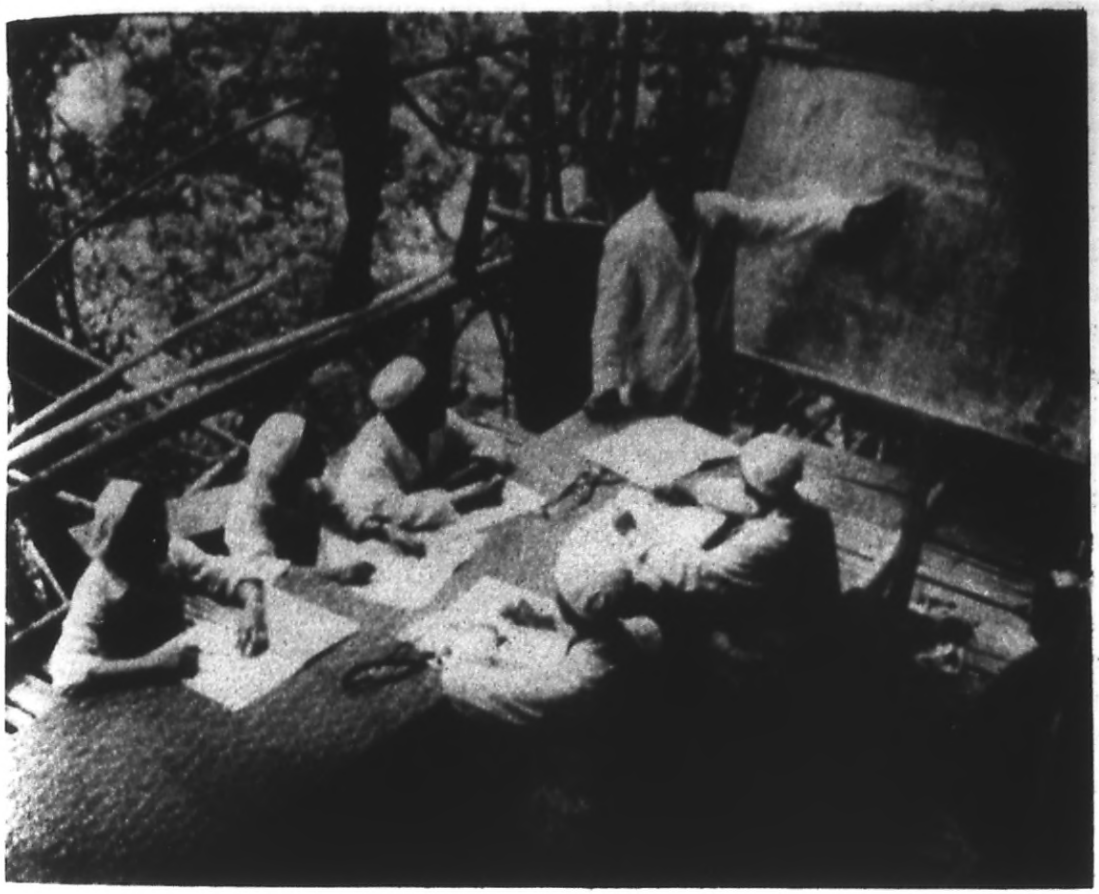
This writer had the opportunity to witness the present situation in Laos in March of this year when, as a member of a delegation of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, headed by the Organization's Secretary General, Osmany Cienfuegos, and including Abilio Duarte, representative of the Conference of Nationalist Organizations of the Portuguese

Colonies, and Ko San Hun and Pak Hai-Chin of the People's Democratic Republic of Korea, he visited the liberated zones of Laos to voice the militant support of the Tricontinental Organization for the people of Laos and its guiding Party, the Neo Lao Haksat.

Our visit to this mountainous, jungle-covered country of numerous rivers was a profitable experience. After following dusty trails across the Indochinese mountain range, fording mountain streams, and crossing vast plateaus behind green valleys, our delegation established contact with the Laotian combatants and their leaders. We were eyewitnesses on our travels to the criminal destruction wrought by constant bombardment by U.S. planes that, day and night (when objectives are illuminated by Bengal flares), violate the air space of Laos on offensive missions. We witnessed, too, deserted towns and villages, evacuated for the protection of the population. Travelling by night along steep, crevasse-bordered mountain roads with innumerable curves, in a camouflaged vehicle guided only by the barest glimmering of lights to avoid detection from the air, we passed at times through zones frequented by tigers, wild boars, deer and monkeys, across reconstructed bridges and bombarded roads. The rocky roads made our vehicle jerk like a cocktail-shaker, obliging us to stop for rest periods of from five to ten minutes duration out of every hour, approximately. From time to time we observed the passing of reconnaissance planes or listened to the explosions of a bombardment.

What most impresses the visitor to the liberated zone of Laos, besides the combative spirit and industriousness of its people, is the observation of the conditions under which the struggle is carried on. We had the opportunity to live side-by-side with the leaders of the Laotian people; to converse with the comrades in charge of anti-aircraft defense, valuable men who have the destruction of hundreds of enemy craft to their credit; to sleep and eat with Laotian peasants in their hidden jungle villages; to observe the work of the militia in preparing bamboo traps for the capture of infiltrators armed by the imperialists.

An atmosphere of surrealism pervades the landscape in the zones where the Laotian fighters live, work and relax. Hundreds of caves in the hills and mountains serve as eating and sleeping quarters, as offices and meeting rooms, as halls for cultural activities and political gatherings. We reached such a cave in the early hours of the morning and when, at daybreak, we stepped outdoors to survey our surroundings, a scene of desolation, seemingly animated by nothing more than a breeze moving through the vegetation, met our eyes. But only the inactivity and absence of human beings was apparent. It is hardly an



exaggeration to say that, behind each rock and each tree, a Laotian was working for the cause, for circumstances have made these people masters of camouflage. Thousands of persons, from the highest-ranks to the most humble peasant groups, live in the caves, as do their visitors. Thus our delegation took up quarters in one of the caves and began to feel part of that landscape which had first presented itself to our surprised and curious gaze.

It was in a cave that we met, on several occasions, the comrades of the Neo Lao Haksat. It was also in a cave that Prince Souphanouvong offered us a dinner and, on that occasion, protocol had to adapt itself to the narrowness of the quarters since, following the welcoming ceremonies, we were obliged to squeeze ourselves against the damp rock walls in order to allow the placing of the table. It was in a cave that we attended a performance of the Folklore Group of Laos, in which expressions of the secular culture of the country were offered in popular songs and dances and in the soft notes of the "so," a two-stringed violin; the "kneno" and the "khouy," types of flute; the "kachapi," a Laotian banjo, and other typical instruments. And it was also in a cave that we attended the inauguration of the Week of Solidarity with Viet-Nam, a vibrant ceremony filled with revolutionary ardor. The presidential table was adorned with flowers. The flower bowls

were anti-personnel bombshells, dropped by Yankee aircraft.

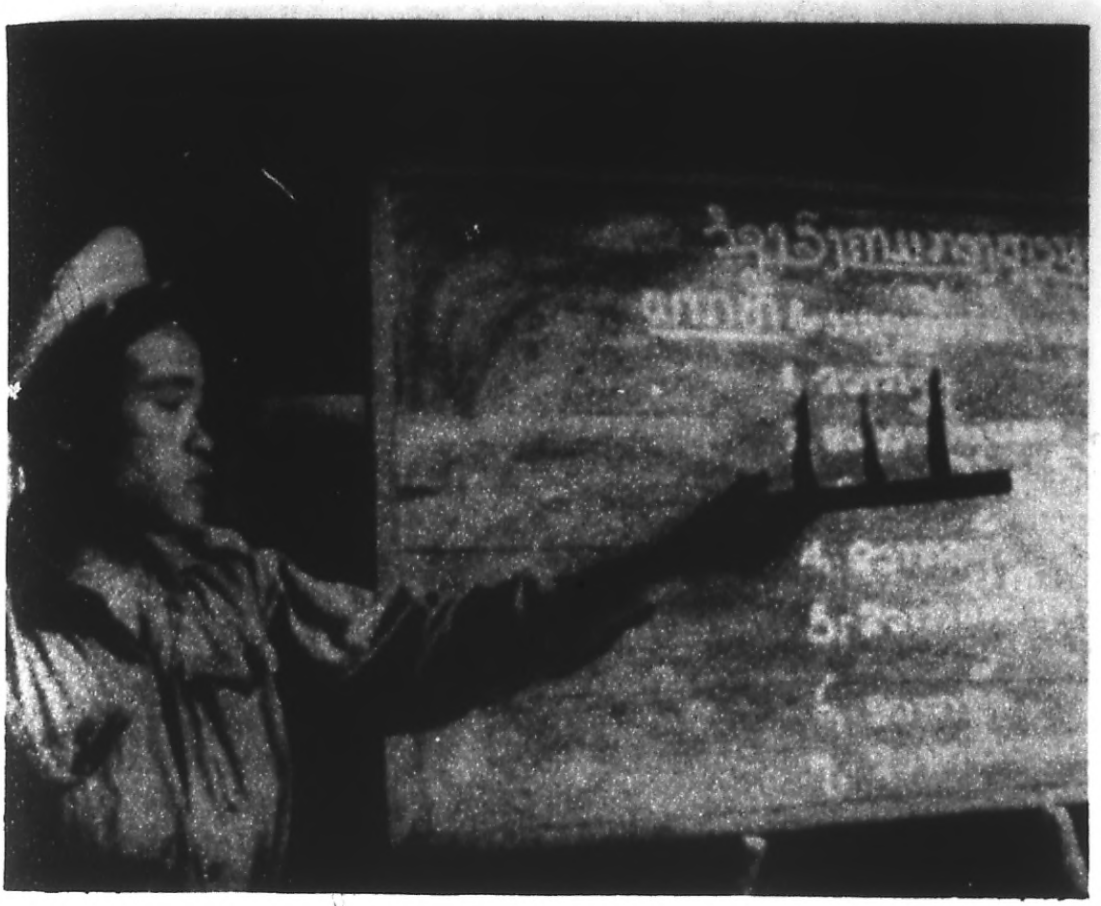
In this country at war, incessantly attacked by a powerful military machine, with poor communication media and a complex social problem created by the existence of sixty different nationalities, the people present a marvelous spectacle of revolutionary militancy and determination to overcome the cruel inheritance left them by colonialism. The Laotian people are marching forward with firm steps — not only in the military aspect of their struggle but in everything that concerns life: production, education, public health. Together with their anti-aircraft weapons, their rifles and their bamboo traps, the Laotians protect their textbooks, their agricultural implements, their hospitals. Above all, they are struggling to erase ignorance and superstition so that their children may face the future with confidence in their own abilities.

There is much to be learned from a visit to a Laotian village in these times. The Tricontinental delegation mixed freely with the inhabitants of one of these villages, whose names, like that of the district, we shall not mention for reasons of security. This district contains 323 villages and a population composed of seven different nationalities. In all, it includes 6,861 families comprising 19,886 men and 21,361 women. Animated today, these people lived, before the Revolution, in conditions of feudalism and slavery, working the land of the rich for the rich.

The advance made since then is remarkable. The same peasants who lived at a near-starvation level under French colonialism, today defend their gains against the bombs of U.S. imperialism. They related many anecdotes during our visit about the changes in their lives. The internal division that the colonialists and their local allies fomented is being extinguished.

Under the leadership of the Neo Lao Haksat, the people are uniting and helping one another, irrespective of nationality. If the harvest of one village is poor or some article is in short supply, other villages send aid. The village visited by us had received four hundred meters of cloth donated by neighboring villages last year.

The villagers greeted us, as visitors from very far away, with laughing gratitude. Although one had evidently been chosen to be the spokesman for all, others interrupted constantly. All wanted to talk. What has been done in education? Statistics leaped from their lips: in 1965 there were 47 schools and now there are 56; in 1965 there were 76 active teachers and now there are 85. In these schools, 1,966 male students are enrolled along with 503 female students. There are 23 secondary students, 8 of them female. Prior to the Revolution, there were only five schools in the district and no secondary students.



In this village where no hospitals existed before, there is now a modest, 10-bed hospital, in which 98 mothers have given birth and some 3,000 patients have received medical attention. In the past, medicines were unknown and the common method of treating disease was to kill certain animals in order to invoke "the spirits." Today, the "spirits" have fled.

The district has a well-equipped military unit formed of men of different nationalities who live and work together. It also has a militia composed of 624 members, 50 of whom are women. The militia has built 771 large traps and 1,954 small ones, 53 bamboo traps with lances, 36,000 lance tips and 73 mines. Its members are very proud of their work and put one of the traps into operation to demonstrate its effectiveness to us. Some are ingenious and all are formidable. The tradition of rebellion against aggressors is very much alive in Laos.

Production? They informed us that spring rice was being planted by sixteen villages that are specifically dedicated to this task. The extension of land under cultivation has been increasing each year. And the yield? This year it was six kilograms for one kilogram of seed, much higher than in previous years. Rice continues to be the principal crop of Laos and of

all of Indochina. The villagers also constructed four kilometers of canals to irrigate 16 hectares in a period of 2,776 days, 405 of which represent work done by women. The job required the moving of 1,956 cubic meters of earth. The enthusiasm with which the villagers describe their achievements is unlimited. A far cry from their former life under feudalism and semi-slavery, from hunger and oppression, to their present liberty and the satisfaction of their basic needs! In the past year, they received a sufficient supply of petroleum and cloth and, in addition, produced one hundred tons of cotton.

Relations between the population, the Neo Lao Haksat, and the administration are closely interwoven in the struggle for national liberation. The village visited by us — a microcosm of the liberated two-thirds of the country and a sample of the liberated one-half of the population — contributed 378,000 kilograms of rice this year to the government's supplies and has repaired many kilometers of roads and highways destroyed by bombardment. It also contributed 110 young villagers this year to the Armed Forces of Liberation, while more than 80 others are working in government offices in the district; 6 are couriers, 7 are chauffeurs, 4 are workers and 10 are studying in the secondary school while also working part-time in administration. Life is vastly different from the recent past, when they were obliged to work three months of each year as serfs on the lands of feudal lords and colonialists.

Substantial changes are taking place. Among these are the setting up of Mutual Aid Groups in which from three to five families combine forces, including their means of production, to cultivate their parcels of land collectively, although the harvest is divided on an individual basis. Women whose husbands are away fighting are aided by the remainder of the villagers to cultivate their land. Each school produces its own vegetables throughout the year and also raises pigs and poultry. The defense of the Homeland is closely tied to production, and a new movement has been started under the name "Land and Ponds for the Front," in which areas of fertile land belonging to each village are separated for the specific production of rice, as well as vegetables, legumes, cotton, mulberry trees, and tobacco for the Armed Forces of Liberation. Bomb craters left by enemy aircraft are being used for planting or stocking as fish hatcheries. All this work is carried out on a collective basis, from harvesting or catching, to transporting the products to the front.

As a result of constant harassment from the air, the farmers of the liberated zone work principally at night. Markets function from four a. m. to seven a. m. for the same reason, since imperialist pilots delight in machine-gunning any group of human beings that comes within their line of vision. Peas-

ants from all of the surrounding zones come to these markets to trade their widely-varied produce: home-made sausages, green mangoes, yarn, lanterns, vegetables, honey, rice wine, buffalo meat, pigs and poultry, in exchange for which they seek perfumes, silk, slippers, paper clips and dyes, brought from other places.

The progress made by this people has been achieved against enormous difficulties. Nursing brigades visit each village regularly. Hospitals are hidden by the jungle and, for the most part, built into cliffs in such a way that operating rooms and hospital supplies are situated in protecting caves. A literacy campaign is under way everywhere, especially in the Liberation Army. And all of this has been achieved in a country in which, only a short time ago, some minority groups were totally ignorant of the use of salt, in which 95% of the population was illiterate and in which, in certain regions, 75% of the population was addicted to opium.

This is the people that is confronting the onslaught of imperialism in Laos and whose neutralist patriotic forces under the leadership of the Neo Lao Haksat have liberated two-thirds of their country against forces that, in great part, are equipped, trained and led by Yankees. In a country of approximately three million inhabitants, there are 80 thousand mercenar-

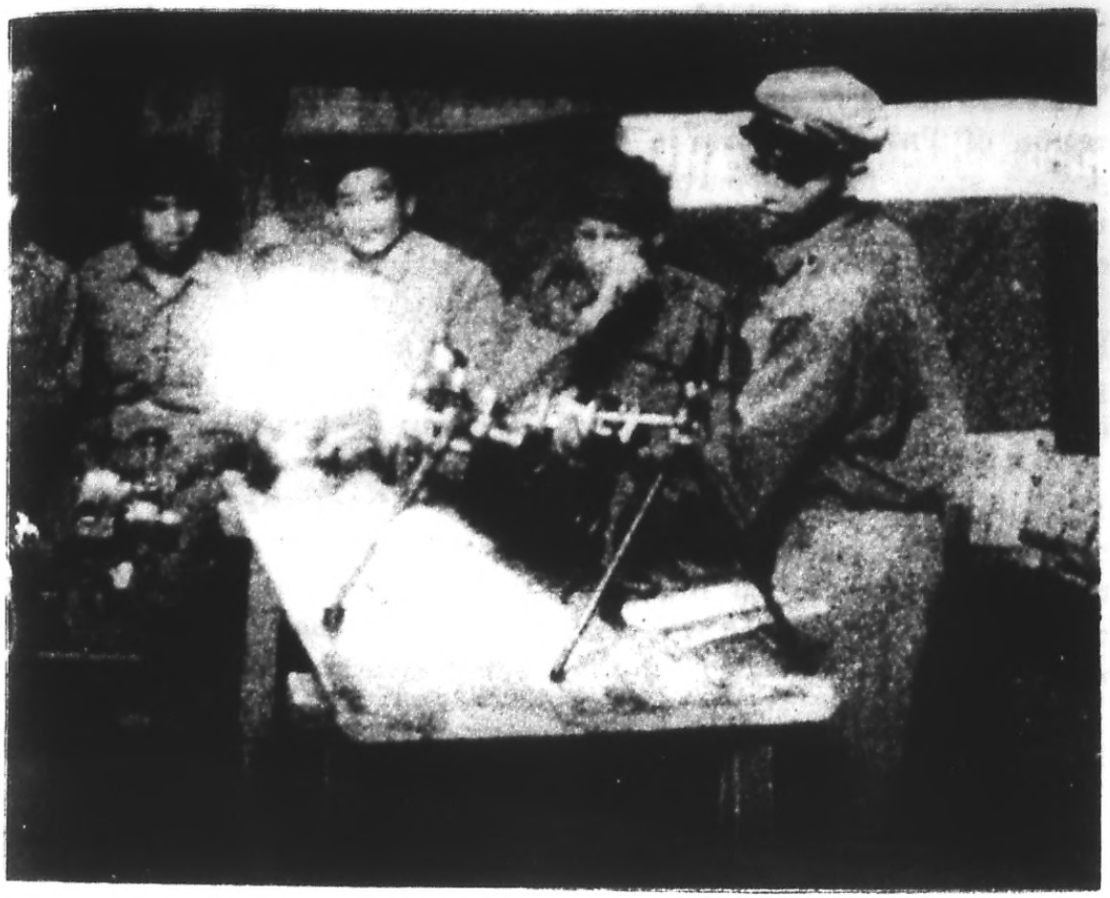
ies, 15 thousand of whom are attached to the Special Forces of the United States.

In recent months, the imperialists have stepped up the air attacks that were begun in the summer of 1964 by planes of the Seventh Fleet and others based in Thailand and South Viet-Nam. The war of destruction from the air, which has followed a steady process of escalation, began with reconnaissance flights. These were followed by reconnaissance planes accompanied by jet escorts and, finally, by bombardment of, first, the region of Xinegkhouang-Samneua and, later, all of the liberated zone of Upper, Central and Lower Laos. On some days, as many as 300 bombing missions have dropped up to one thousand tons of bombs. In the first four months of this year alone, the U.S. Air Force carried out ten thousand bombing missions against the liberated zone of Laos, and it should be pointed out that, since the beginning of last year, these missions have also employed B-52 strategic bombers, particularly in Central and Lower Laos. The very ferocity of the aggression indicates clearly that the immediate objective of the imperialists is the occupation of Laos for the purpose of utilizing it strategically in the furtherance of their designs on Southeast Asia, as a preliminary step to still more ambitious plans against the Asian continent.

The latest reports coming in from Laos dispel any possible doubt. The U.S. imperialists have embarked upon preparations which indicate that their plan of action contemplates the sending of Yankee land forces into Laos. Until now, they have relied upon the U. S. Air Force, pirate commandos and the regular armies of the puppet regimes of Laos, Thailand and South Viet-Nam. Now the war is intensifying. The next step will be the presence of a U. S. expeditionary force. And, in preparation for this stage, they are working at an accelerated pace on material conditions and propaganda.

The part of Laotian territory under the administration of the puppet regime in Vientiane is being transformed by the imperialists into a military theater of operations, joined to Thailand. This is already a fact. Along the entire length of the Lao-Thailand frontier, a network of strategic highways and an entire system of military bases are under construction, which, together with the bases already under their control in Thailand, will permit the rapid movement of U. S. forces from the coasts of Thailand to Laotian territory. The secret construction of military quarters, warehouses, airports and telecommunications stations is continuing without pause in the key regions of the Mekong Delta such as Sayaboury, Luang Prabang, Vientiane, Paksé, Savannakhet and on the plateaus of Bolobens.

A dense network of airfields connected to Thailand is known to



be completed. This includes 48 airports and approximately 100 airstrips for helicopter landings. In addition, expansion and modernization of the airports at Luang Prabang, Senó (Savannakhet) and Vientiane (Wattay) are under way, including lengthening the landing strip of the base at Wattay to permit the use of jet aircraft. The airport at Senó is a paratroop base for the puppet army.

At the same time, Washington is spending millions of dollars per year in the occupied part of Laos on the extension, repair and construction of hundreds of kilometers of highways negotiable in all seasons of the year. A network of strategic highways running the length of the Mekong Delta is currently under construction to unite the principal cities of Laos and to connect these with the cities in north and northeast Thailand. A four-lane highway, known as Strategic Highway Number 13, connects Luang Prabang, Vientiane and Thakhek. The 300-kilometer stretch from Luang Prabang to Vientiane is of particular importance since, when finished, it will admit traffic of motorized vehicles of heavy tonnage. The strategic highway which is to connect Vientiane with Nong Khai-Udorn in Thailand is already completed between Vientiane and Thadeua. Seven million dollars have been invested in the highway which will connect Laos with the

north of Thailand. A bridge over the Mekong in the region of Vientiane and a huge dock in the region of Paksé are now in the project stage, for the purpose of uniting the Lao and Thai banks of the Mekong River.

But this is not all. In its frenzied preparations to extend the war in Laos, the U. S. is reinforcing its personnel and equipment in Thailand, from which, it should be remembered, its planes take off to bomb the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam, traversing the air space of Laos.

Thailand has become a gigantic U.S. strategic base in Southeast Asia and a supporting base, particularly, for its activities in the zone that extends the length of the Mekong Delta, controlled by the puppet administration in Vientiane. The U. S. now has 40 thousand men and vast land, air and maritime installations in Thailand, which serves both as a springboard for the intensification of its intervention in Laos and as a rearguard base.

And it is from Thailand that the puppet army of Vientiane is supplied. According to information published by the U. S. press, 45% of the bombings of North Viet-Nam and Laos are carried out from the Thai bases of Udorn. Nakhon Phanom, Ubon, Korat, Takhli. Don Muang and the ports and air bases in Sattahip.

These facts of imperialist military preparations in Thailand and the occupied zone of Laos, plus the introduction into Laos of Thai and South Vietnamese puppet troops, indicate the speed with which U.S. strategy in Southeast Asia is being put into effect and the danger that this signifies for the independence of the peoples of that area.

It has not been our intention in this report to present the situation in Laos from the point of view of the international agreements that have been violated and snubbed by the U. S. imperialists, but it is useful to remember that each of the actions undertaken by Washington, without exception, are in flagrant violation of the 1962 Geneva Agreements on Laos, signed by fourteen countries. The contempt displayed by the imperialists concerning agreements signed by themselves is a characteristic common to all belligerent states and, therefore, can cause no surprise. Yet the specific case of Laos, in which the imperialists and their allies and satellites have not respected a single detail of the statutes adopted to guarantee the peace and neutrality of that country, is particularly shocking. Imperialist policy has been, in its entirety, to sabotage the Agreements, undermine Laotian neutrality and replace peace and independence in Laos with war and submission.

The war unleashed by the U. S. in Laos is part of a global strategy of aggression. It can in no sense be considered an isolated episode taking place in an exotic country for the achievement of a limited objec-

tive. The military intervention in Laos does not only brutally squash international agreements of a supposedly obligatory nature; it is not only a criminal action designed to destroy the independence and self-determination of a people; it is much more than both of these things. Laos is a factor of prime importance in the plans of imperialism to dominate Southeast Asia in the first place and all of Asia in the second. The situation in Laos affects many peoples; it affects the process of liberation of vast territories and of millions of human beings. It is of decisive importance in today's world panorama. For this reason our duty goes much farther than the urgent duty of all of us toward a people struggling for their liberation. Our responsibility is for the very destiny of the Laotian people and calls for our active, militant and practical solidarity.

The people that are opposing this imperialist aggression have a long tradition of rebellion against foreign oppressors. They are maintaining a fierce struggle, and winning military victories while at the same time moving forward in every area toward the destruction of the negative inheritance left to them by colonialism. They are a people that have not stood idly by before the shameful violation of international norms, but have taken up arms to win its peace and liberty under the conditions that have been imposed upon it. Unquestionably, they will win.

In a letter to us, in which he encloses the following article, the author expresses his "hope" of its being published in our magazine. The article still constitutes a living testimony of an Indonesian newspaperman forced to live underground. It is a detailed account of the actions of "those who, acting on behalf of imperialism, have savagely murdered thousands of Indonesian patriots." The description of the prevailing situation spares the reader no horror simply because the ultra-reactionary government in power daily feeds horror to a people who have not forgotten how human dignity is rewon. *Tricontinental* publishes this document conscious of its full worth, of its courageous authenticity, and wishes to voice the hope that through its contents the world may learn of the inhuman atrocities denounced in an article which one can see was written under the utmost pressure and urgency imposed by a daily siege. It is not the moment now in Indonesia to search for a polished formal expression. The important thing is to let the world know what's really going on in Indonesia, no matter how it is done or who does it. The author of this article, whose name for obvious reasons remains secret, ends his letter to us with a statement which we fully share: "We are sure that victory will be ours only if we aim our weapons at the very heart of imperialism and its satellites. Western and Central Kalimantan, Ambon, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Java: The War of Liberation has begun!"

INDONESIA: THE GOVERNMENT AND PRESENT SITUATION

INDONESIA: THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT AND SITUATION

The attitude and policy of the new government of Indonesia under Suharto-Nasution has deeply attracted the attention of the world.

Under Sukarno, Indonesia was well known for its anti-imperialist policy; Indonesia had undertaken important activities in consolidating Asian-African solidarity to fight against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

The heroic struggle of the Indonesian people has now become clouded because of the attitude of the present ultra-reactionary government, which has completely degraded itself by bowing to imperialism, and has even carried out a policy subservient to imperialist interests.

The confused attitude of Indonesia on the Middle East problem, on the Viet-Nam war, the anti-Chinese policy, and last but not least, the share of Indonesia in establishing the so-called Asian "nonmilitary pact," recently, are nothing but the genuine evidences of how Indonesia has become a full servant of the imperialists.

Foreign monopoly capitalists have been heartily invited to come to Indonesia, and foreign loans are "smoothly" obtained. Enterprises of foreign monopolists, which had been confiscated by the former government, have now one by one been returned to their original owners, with the pretext of increasing production for the "happiness" of the people. How wonderful, or rather how nonsensical?

However, the people of Indonesia have become more and more critical. People are not as stupid as the reactionaries make them out to be; people cannot be ignored. They know full well the difference between capitalism and socialism; they know the difference between the pure struggle of the revolutionaries and the shameful trickery of the clowns of imperialism: Suharto-Nasution and Co.

INDONESIA, THE BIGGEST FACTORY OF RUMOURS

In the present situation, some vital projects and industries in Indonesia are facing difficulties. The steel and iron projects at Tjilegon, West Java, the superphosphate project at Tjilatjap, in Central Java, and the mechanization of rice fields in Kalimantan have been completely closed down. The huge steel project of Tjilegon has now become merely a small blacksmith's repair shop.

The only factory which is still running well is the big "Factory of Rumours." It seems that Indonesia has become the only country having a factory with such a very high capacity.

But this is not a funny story; it is quite true. If we follow the

newspapers in Indonesia we will find nothing but sensational and unconfirmed news; for example, news about the arrest of Mr. So-and-so, the capture of Colonel A., Captain B., etc., which, on the following day, would be denied by the same papers. The very low standard of the Indonesian press can be easily seen by this manner of editing the news.

DEMORALIZATION OF THE STUDENTS AND SCHOOL CHILDREN

We often say: "The future of our nation and country is in the hands of our younger generation." This is quite true, but the question rests on "how the younger generation is educated."

Under Sukarno, the Ministry of Education and Culture had patiently and seriously indoctrinated the students and school children to be anti-imperialists on the one hand, and to love the nation and country on the other. They taught that Indonesia would reach socialism. Sukarno himself, whom we judged to be non-communist, told the students everywhere that the only future for Indonesia would be socialism, that is, a community free from the exploitation of man by man.

Now, the regime of Suharto-Nasution has not only destroyed the PKI, but is purely anti-communist and anti-socialist. Since the early days of their coming into power, Suharto-Nasution and Company declared a prohibition of Marxism-Leninism. Books on this ideology, and other progressive ones, were not allowed to circulate. Severe measures were taken against those who did not obey.

The word socialism cannot be heard in its pure sense now. It has been confused with other doctrines. Sjaichu, Chairman of the Nachdatul Ulama Moslem Party, for instance, once stated that the idea of socialism was created by the doctrine of Islam, long before Marx.

Secondary schools and universities are now dominated by the sons and daughters of the authorities. Progressive people have no opportunities for studying. There is no positive step for a better education of students and school children. Last year, serious examinations were not held. Members of KAPI student associations were given diplomas or permitted to go to higher classes whether they proved themselves capable or not.

Crimes among students have become widespread. Members of KAPI and KAMI organizations never study seriously; on the contrary, they threaten the teachers in order to obtain passing grades. They often steal cars in the streets. They stop the cars and scooters, and by using pistols or knives they force the owners to give up their cars. These wild students are so daring in their criminal undertakings because they are backed by

Army elements.

Last year, a tragic event rent the hearts of mothers and other women. The free relations of the so-called "Generation 66," which was known for its wild actions, resulted in a few hundred young girls becoming mothers out of wedlock.
During the same year, a lot of school buildings were violently occupied by these wild students, and then used as lodgings. The fate of the children of these schools was not resolved.

"PKI POLITICAL GUERRILLA ACTIVITY," A CHEAP STAMP OF THE REACTIONARY REGIME

People have now come to loathe more and more the false accusations of the ultra-rightist authorities who always give the cheap stamp "PKI political guerrilla" to everything which is considered bad. The crisis of the economy, robberies, demoralization of the students and other crimes are all branded or stamped "PKI political guerrilla activity." How frightened they are of the PKI, even though they themselves have banned it!

But do people really believe this? We again note that the people are not stupid. Most crimes and baneful situations in Indonesia are created by the authorities themselves, and this nobody can deny.
Are not the men belonging to the Army the very elements that organize robberies in the capital city and other places, and also those elements which protect gambling, smuggling and the stealing of cars and scooters in the streets?

Conductors of trains and buses often complain that the soldiers will never pay their fares. Shopkeepers often face the same situation. Young officers often enter shops to take anything they like without paying.

We again stress that the Army is responsible for most crimes in Indonesia and, together with the reactionary sectors, the Army is holding power.

Not only the communists but other progressive elements including Sukarno have been made scapegoats. All that Sukarno did during his rule is considered worthless by the present government. All kinds of restrictions have been placed upon him, and many of his followers have been arrested and tortured.

But all these shameful attitudes do not mean that the ultra-reactionary government is strong; the attitudes prove that it is really afraid of the progressive elements which may awaken at any moment to launch measures of resistance.

At this point we must note that it is really strange that the government should never speak of the "Peace Corps" members who are wandering from one end of Indo-

nesia to the other, while most people in the world know that the "U.S. Peace Corps" is nothing more than a spy organization which interferes everywhere.

ECONOMIC SITUATION WORSENING

The reactionary government of Suharto-Nasution has totally submerged the people of Indonesia in misery. The government takes no positive measures for the improvement of the national economy.

The purchasing power of the people has fallen; prices are rising every day. The average price of commodities is now 10 to 20 times greater, compared with the average price in 1965, while the increase in the workers' salaries is five times only.

Instead of positive steps, the government has returned foreign enterprises to their former owners; thousands upon thousands of workers have been discharged, and stagnation of production has become widespread.

The reactionary regime is sure that, in order to stamp out communism, people must be freed from poverty. It is sure that poverty is the best partner of communism; where there is poverty, communism grows rapidly. But the ultra-reactionary government has no formula by which to abolish poverty, the "partner of communism."

Of course, we cannot deny that the regime has had the "wisdom" to invite the foreign capitalists to come to Indonesia in order to help the regime in solving the economic problem (read: the foreign capitalists are invited to plunder Indonesia).

However, it is most ironic that amid such a bad economic situation, in which people are living from hand to mouth, certain high-level circles of Indonesian society are spending their nights splendidly in Hong Kong as tourists.

MILITARIZATION IN ALL FIELDS

Disappointment among the people becomes deeper and deeper every passing day as all public services and activities are militarized. Governors, heads of kampongs, village chiefs, and directors of schools, enterprises or government offices have been mostly replaced by Army officers, while on the other hand, activities of the people are severely limited. To look for a job, to travel to another region, to trade and so on, is not allowed without a license from the local authorities.

Those who do not obey expose themselves to bad treatment.

SUHARTO-NASUTION: CHAMPIONS OF SAVAGE KILLERS

Though the breakout of the "Sep-

tember 30th Movement," which the ultra-rightist clique in Indonesia calls the "GESTAPU," a name reminiscent of Hitler's GESTAPO, the regime of Suharto-Nasution effected a bloodbath in every corner of Indonesia to slaughter the communists and their sympathizers and other revolutionary elements.

In Djakarta, this event was not so pronounced, but in the country and villages in Central and East Java, Bali, and Sulawesi innocent people were cruelly murdered. Thousands of innocent people, men and women, the young and the old, even children, were beheaded. They were accused without legal trial and found guilty of having launched a rebellion against the official government.

Communist heroes were forced to dig their own graves and were then slaughtered. In some places the methods of assassination were even worse, so cruel as to be inhuman. Sudiono, Secretary of the Regional Committee of the PKI of Jogjakarta, for instance, was told at bayonet point by the soldiers of Suharto to explain everything he knew about the PKI movement. Seeing that no word came from his mouth, the soldiers dragged him violently to the bank of a river. With his hands tied to his back Sudiono was then thrown into the river, which was deep and full of crocodiles.

This was but one example. Beside him, dozens of communist leaders and other progressive elements were killed off in a like manner. Another "attraction" of the regime was displayed by the puppets of Suharto-Nasution in the southern part of Jogjakarta. This place, named Gunung Kidul, or Southern Mountain, has been known for ages for its poor land, its lack of rice fields and water, with only rock and more rock, as far as the eye could see. In this very place we sometimes find deep holes in the ground which are connected with the natural underground river flowing to the Indian Ocean (South Java). The bandits utilized the holes for launching their savage actions against their opponents. Leaders of the PKI and other progressive elements were sent to the Indian Ocean via this "underground way." Those destined to be sent there were first of all dealt heavy blows on the face or had their foreheads bashed in with a hammer. Their hands were then tied behind their backs before they were plunged into the holes.

Could anyone describe how cruel these crimes were? Who, then, was the GESTAPU? Suharto-Nasution, or the PKI?

The sale of fish in some places in East Java came to a complete standstill. The people of these places, especially of Madiun, Bodjonegoro, Kediri, Blitar and Kertosono, where the river Solo and river Brantas flow

through, refused to eat fish for a considerable time, though the price was quite low. What was the reason? It was simple but full of humanism.

From November 1965 to March 1966, the rivers in these places were literally red with the blood of the patriots. Travellers were often frightened at the sight of the corpses of men or women, some headless or minus their hands or arms. It was not altogether infrequent that corpses of young men would stick fast on the roots of trees along the river banks or would be caught on the poles of the bridges, so that the fish in the river would feast on them. It happened that mothers in the villages fainted after having cut open fish bought in the market. In the belly of a fish a human thumb or hand would be found. So the people did not want to eat fish for a considerable time because it meant —according to their feelings— eating their own brothers' flesh.

During the first quarter of 1966, the air in the island of Bali was still full of the putrid odor of corpses. Corpses of men, women, boys and girls, or little children, were scattered here and there headless. When the RPKAD (Special Paratroops of the Army) came there to crush the PKI, they acted blindly and murdered all the families of the progressive elements, communist or non-communist. It is estimated that 8000 members of Partindo, the nationalist party, were killed and beheaded.

Who were the murderers of those patriots? Suharto could furnish the correct answer, for he had organized and engineered the killings.

On this occasion, the RPKAD had assumed the chief role. Everywhere they came, they plundered and burned houses, slaughtering the innocent, from grandmothers to grandchildren. Thousands of people were killed — not because they were communists, but merely because they were supposed communists or had relations with progressive elements.

We also recorded that members of the Nachdatul Ulama Moslem Party participated to a great extent in these murders. Leaders of this party even assumed the role of commanders in order to conduct the killings and decide the time and place for that purpose.

If the soil could speak, places such as Madiun, Kediri, Blitar and Bali would cry out against the blood which has engulfed them.

THE SITUATION IN JAILS

It is very interesting to follow the decision of Suharto to release 40,000 of those arrested. As we well know, those arrested numbered more than half a million (the government officially claimed only 250,000). They are grouped into three categories.

Category A: Those accused of being involved in or knowing about the September 30th Movement. The government has relatively little evidence on the matter. Persons of this category are not all members of the PKI, but are surely progressive people, communist or non-communist. A lot of them are members of Partindo and the PNI.

Category B: Those supposed to be dangerous to the government. Among them are PKI members only.

Category C: Those arrested as a result of slander or blackmail, accused of revolutionary activities, but with no proof against them.

Belonging to this category are some members of the PKI, but of lesser importance.

Forty thousand, all belonging to category C, are to be released.

It is still fresh in our minds how mercilessly the Nazis tortured the Jews, and how the Japanese fascists slaughtered innocent Indonesians during World War II. This misery has been duplicated against the people of Indonesia, i.e. the recent action of the ultra-reactionary government against revolutionary elements that are consequently anti-imperialist and are working hard for the building of a socialist community.

Common people would never believe that leaders of the Gerwani (Indonesian Women's Movement) have been arrested, and have been cruelly tortured. Officers of the Djakarta Military Command forced them to take off their clothes —even underwear— after the officers realized that by dealing them heavy blows, they could not force these women to open their mouths. This was not enough. The women were then forced to lie face downwards on zinc planks under a strong sun for a considerable length of time, and their breasts became burned. Then, using rattan sticks, the officers pricked the women's breasts. Madame Aidit had even been forced to go undressed for a few days. Did the bandits then get the answer they expected? No, no significant word could be obtained. These tortures of course resulted in permanent physical mutilation. One of the Gerwani leaders lost her hearing.

And what happened to Aidit, Lukman, Njoto and others? Colonel Jasir from Jogjakarta could tell a lot about the kidnapping and murder of Aidit. Lukman's head was smashed by hammer blows before he passed away. And regarding Njoto and other undeclared murders of patriots, the fishermen along the coast of Djakarta and nearby have a great deal to say about that. The regime had created a certain islet north of Djakarta, a world-hell for butchering.

The Viet-Nam war has been carrying away the best sons and

daughters of the country; this had also happened during the liberation war in Korea. But the reputation of Suharto-Nasution must be unprecedented. Within less than a year the regime butchered nearly one million progressive people. On the island of Bali alone, 20,000 murders were recorded. The same horrors took place in Central and East Java, Sulawesi and other localities. The extent of the terror in Sulawesi reminds us of Westerling when the Dutch bandits murdered 40,000 innocent people in 1949.

We have spoken largely about the cruel attitude of the regime against the progressive elements. Let us now for a moment make a call inside the jails, where patriots are spending bad days.

Most of them were imprisoned without any legal trial. None of them were able to avoid the heavy blows of the honorary bodyguards of the regime. The situation in jail is generally unchanged. It does not approach even minimal hygienic standards. A small room of 4 x 4 meters or so is filled with a dozen people or more. They have to sleep on the floor without mats. The arrested persons are forced to work hard and are given a small quantity of food. The authorities never pay attention to their health. A lot of them die of dysentery, tuberculosis or other diseases. They sleep without blankets or clothes. Rations sent by their families are appropriated by the guards to be consumed by them. The official government budget for the arrested people is withheld by the authorities. The situation in the jails does not differ much from that of the concentration camps of the Nazis.

In Jogjakarta, Nusakambangan and other places in Central Java, the situation in jails is very bad. The ration given to the arrested people is of the same quality and quantity as the food given to the hens. It consists of a small plate of food made of dried cassava or maize with some vegetable occasionally, and nothing more. Their families are obliged to send them additional food. The prisoners have to do forced labor on certain projects.
As precarious as their situation is, and as bad as the treatment they are given, patriots are always in high spirits and consciousness.

They have organized everything they can do for bettering conditions inside the jails. They carry out activities in the fields of culture, music, dance, handicrafts, sports and education.

We can see them every day practising sports, gardening, dancing or teaching each other English or other lessons. Everything is carried out in limited conditions but in buoyant spirits.

And what about their families? The wives and children of the arrested people? How do wives feed their children or prepare every-

thing for their husbands? And how are the children whose mothers and fathers are both arrested?

Those arrested have all been dismissed from their jobs. The families must live, but to look for jobs is not easy; they have been quarantined by the authorities, so they must do everything they can to get money, by selling cakes in the markets or working as servants or dressmakers, and so on.

THE FUTURE OF INDONESIA

History teaches us that no power in the world has ever been voluntarily transferred to another class, and this has been proved throughout the history of mankind.

To change an existing tyrannical government, people cannot beg or wait for the "goodwill" of the ruling class to lighten the repression of the ruling class.

History has also shown us how cruel imperialism is in its exploitation of the suppressed people through their agents, or puppet governments, with the support of the local reactionaries.
It is clear that the present government of Indonesia is nothing more than the "faithful servant of the imperialists." From such a government people can hope for nothing but economic bankruptcy, crime and the murder of progressive people.

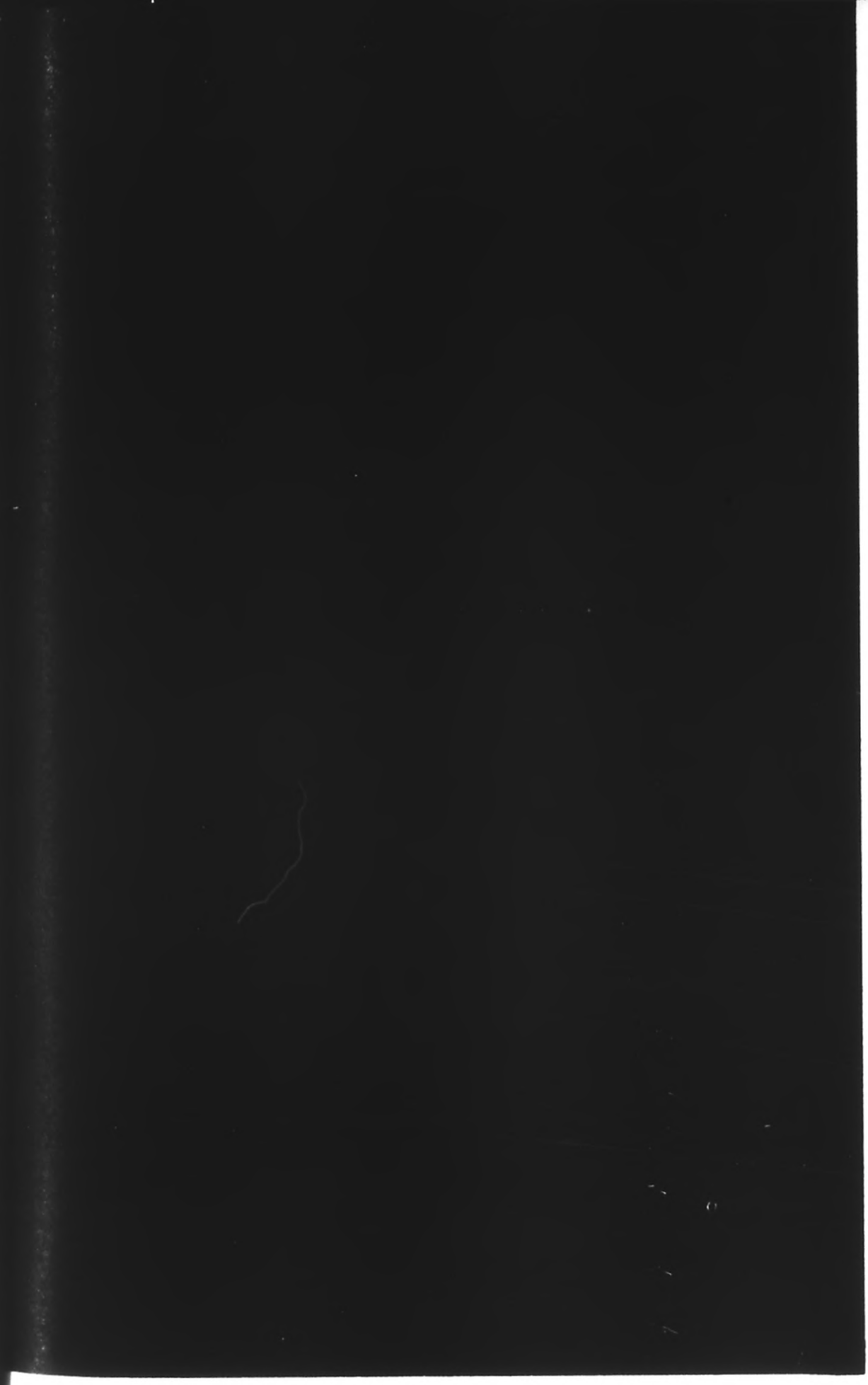
There are only two choices for the Indonesian progressive elements: to hand over their heads to be cut off by the ruling reactionary government or to take up arms and launch a revolutionary liberation war to destroy the imperialist machine in order to create, step by step, the conditions for building a socialist society.

The progressive people of Indonesia are taking the second way — i.e., to take up arms. The flame of the revolutionary liberation war against the reactionary government has just been lit in some places in West and Central Kalimantan, Ambon, Sumatra, Sulawesi and Java. The guerrilla troops in Kalimantan are now escalating their actions and resistance against the reactionary government. The resistance of the people has to be escalated and launched throughout the whole territory of Indonesia as a revolutionary liberation war.

We are sure that a liberation war will also bring a negative effect, because it invites the interference of a foreign state. We may learn Viet-Nam's lesson, where U.S. imperialists have intervened. And we are sure that the reactionary clique in Indonesia will also invite the imperialists to back them. But there is no other choice; we have to risk this. There is no struggle without sacrifice.

Bravo to the revolution of Indonesia!

Indonesia, July 1967



INTERNAL REASONS FOR THE DEFEAT

by Manuel Galich

The Guatemalan Revolution of 1954

The entire world knows that U.S. imperialism crushed the Guatemalan revolution in 1954. But not everyone knows the internal causes that made possible that defeat. Manuel Galich, 54 years of age, relates his personal experience, from which general conclusions may be drawn.
The official posts which he held in his country permit him to speak with authority on the subject: President of the Revolutionary Congress during the government of the Revolutionary Council (1944); Minister of Public Education (1945-46) and President of the Electoral Tribunal (1946-1950) in the government of Arévalo; Minister of Foreign Relations (1951-1952) and Ambassador in Montevideo (1953) and in Buenos Aires (1954) for the government of Arbenz.

PROFILE OF A "STRONG-MAN"

A student rebellion set off the popular movement that overthrew Jorge Ubico in 1944. This occurred in Guatemala, a still unfree territory of America, neocolony of U.S. imperialism and integral part of one of its far-reaching tentacles, the banana industry. All of these elements are important in this brief history of something more than a generation in one of the sorest spots of Latin America.

Jorge Ubico was a general who had twice aspired to the presidency: in 1922 and 1926. On both occasions, he had been defeated by other generals, although not because they were more popular than Ubico — a factor that has rarely entered into the Latin American electoral picture. It was merely that in 1922 and 1926, the winning generals already occupied the presidency, which made their presentation of a superior number of votes an extremely simple matter. In 1922 the incumbent general was José María Orellana — precursor of what are today referred to as "gorillas" — who,

as Army Chief of Staff, had overthrown the country's civilian president on behalf of the Yankee railroad monopoly that has encumbered Guatemala since the beginning of this century. With his grasp on power guaranteed by that act of nocturnal perfidy Orellana had had no difficulty in passing from interloper to "constitutional" president. Although this occurred exactly forty-five years ago, the same variety of metamorphosis undergone by Orellana has been repeated an infinite number of times in Latin America, under the same imperial auspices. Onganía, Stroessner, Costa e Silva, Barrientos, Somoza Jr. and López Arellano are current living examples in Central and South America of the species which has produced, over the years, some really unforgettable specimens, worthy of embalmment and exhibition in special museums: the first Somoza, Trujillo, Pérez Jiménez, Castillo Armas and others of the same gang.

Orellana died of what the people call "angina pectoris" one fine morning in 1926 and the presidency passed, by merest chance, to an obscure general named Lázaro Chacón, who, precisely because of his innocuity, occupied the post referred to in Guatemala constitutional terminology as "first deputy," the person designated to succeed to power in the event of the temporary or definitive absence of the president. Overnight "angina pectoris," like Cinderella's fairy godmother, brought Chacón from anonymity to the presidency. According to the constitution, Chacón was empowered only to convoke elections for the next constitutional period and was forbidden to participate in them by his status as provisional president. This was not respected. Via electoral sleight-of-hand, Chacón, president, ad interim, became Chacón, proprietor of the post. Ubico played at opposition, and lost, naturally.

In 1931, nevertheless, Ubico was backed by none other than that great elector, Mr. Sheldon Whitehouse, U.S. Ambassador. What had he done to earn a place under that protective wing? During the preceding nine years, while occupying minor posts as local political boss, Ubico had demonstrated his outstanding capacity for applying the notorious "fugitive law" on the slightest suspicion. At the same time, the United Fruit Company was clearly worried. Throughout the preceding decade, the workers' movement in Guatemala had been growing in strength. Ideological agitation in the form of "bolshevik ideas" had reached the railroad lines and the banana zones. Unions had sprung up in the principal cities, and the conviction that strikes were an effective weapon of struggle had taken root. Clearly, it was time to place a "strong-man" in power, and that general who had carried out so many assassinations in Retalhuleu was the ideal man for the job. A particular factor in his favor was his demonstrated phobia of Mexicans, who often crossed the Guatemalan frontier. All Mexicans for Ubico were

revolutionaries, all revolutionaries were bolsheviks and all bolsheviks were delinquents, condemned, a priori, to death. Such an excellent philosophy easily won him the tutelage of Whitehouse.

A convenient circumstance facilitated the plans of Whitehouse and calmed the alarm of the United Fruit Company. The non-homicidal and relatively tolerant Chacón, whose "weakness" (in the opinion of the United Fruit Company) had allowed red ideas and organizations to prosper, was struck down by a cerebral hemorrhage on a December afternoon in 1930, throwing the country into a brief period of anarchy. Chacón's legal successor, the civilian "first deputy," was overthrown by a military coup d'état two days after taking office. The author of the coup, another Orellana, was eliminated by Whitehouse by means of payment of twenty thousand dollars, withdrawn from the national treasury. The plot to place Ubico in power was then organized with a minimum of difficulty under the direction of Whitehouse. The president of the Supreme Court of Justice, an elderly, inoffensive and obedient gentleman, was called to assume the presidency and, in a lightning move which caught everyone off guard, elections were called in which no one voted for the simple reason that no one knew either where or when he was supposed to do so. But numbers appeared on billboards, by province, bestowing an overwhelming triumph upon Jorge Ubico, who awakened on the 14th of February 1931 as the new president of Guatemala. He immediately threw himself into the fulfillment of his mission: total destruction and extirpation of "red ideas and organizations."

IDEOLOGICAL LATITUDE OF AN UNHAPPY GENERATION

Although it seems incredible, in 1944 we did not know the meaning of imperialism. We had certainly heard of it, but were ignorant of its complexity, its voracity, its objectives of continental and world domination, the economic mechanism that moves it, its tricks, its resources, its implacable coldness in business matters, its lies, its doctrines and its dogmas; that is, of all that we were later to suffer and know too well, when it was too late. And, nevertheless, we were the vanguard of the university movement against Jorge Ubico, which meant the vanguard of the entire country, since until then — let us say between 1942 and 1944 — no other organized forces existed even in incipient form. Ubico had been bloodily "efficient."

We harboured a nebulous anti-Yankee sentiment, aroused perhaps by an emotion that was, more than anything else, mestizan and Latin American, and a basic and chauvinistic national jealousy

which repudiated the image of the prepotent and intrusive Yankee. As early as the beginning of our primary school studies, we had been diehard sandinistas, eager to march off to Nicaragua to join the forces of the hero of Segovia, to help them "throw the gringos out of Central America." A decade later, our repudiation was as much sexual as national, since it was equally intolerable to us that Ubico had ceded bases in the airport at La Aurora and in the port of San José to the Yankee military and that soldiers from these bases swarmed over the capital on Saturday nights, like great herds of capering goats, to insult our manners and customs in drunken and obscene clashes. We held the worst possible opinion of, and considered "traitors to their race, blood and people," the "gringueras," semi-prostitutes who felt flattered to walk arm-in-arm with blond, gum-chewing gringos dressed in-khaki. And we gleefully participated in any scuffle that was organized against a drunken or impertinent Yankee, for example in Ciro's.

None of this was anti-imperialist ideology. It was only instinctive reaction reduced to a most undoctrinary postulate:

"Gringos, tremendous sons of bitches."

Our closest approaches to ideology were fervent sympathy with the Spanish Republic, sincere indignation at its solitude and its defeat, and very rational hatred, yes, of fascism and nazism. Because, at the same time that we were able to perceive what both meant for the world, we saw the tyranny that oppressed our own country as a grotesque, insect-scale version of the totalitarianism rampant in Europe. We did not know that this stupid and totalitarian tyranny was the handiwork of Yankee imperialism and the effect of that imperialism, pleasing to Franklin D. Roosevelt himself. For that reason, we were sincerely on the side of the Allies.

GUATEMALA VERSION OF "THE GIANT AMAPOLAS"

Nevertheless, Ubico signed a death decree against us as "nazi-fascist agitators." That textual phrase is unforgettable for us. Fortunately, his police did not manage to get hold of us and we were able to secure asylum in the Mexican Embassy. Had we not done so, we should have fallen into the hands of the head of Ubico's police, David Ordoñez, and of the head of the "investigating police," as the secret police was then called, José Linares. Such a possibility in 1944 was enough to give any Guatemalan gooseflesh and set him trembling. Thirteen years and four months of an uncontrolled, sadistic, sanguinary, stupid and genuinely savage tyranny had abolished, by the

sole and brutal will of Ubico and the total compliance of the human garbage that served him as ministers, deputies, judges, etc., all traces of constitution, laws, courts, legal recourse, rights, principles, and guarantees. The national press, without exception, was nauseatingly fawning and self-censored. Among foreign magazines, only **Life** in Spanish and **Selecciones** entered the country. Books were the object of a rabid inquisition. Old copies of **Das Kapital** were removed from the library of the Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences to avoid "poisoning" the students. Official use of the word **worker** was prohibited. Such terms as **union, strike, proletariat, labor justice** and **social laws** were blasphemies punishable by torture and several years of prison.

Ideologically, even the university students were illiterate in 1944. We hated the tyranny simply because it offended our human dignity. And we worked like ants during two years to unify and organize the university in the midst of that universal fear. We began as a cell in the law school (Faculty of Juridical and Social Sciences). Later, we set up a law association and, finally, in 1943, the AEU (**Asociación de Estudiantes Universitarios**). At least, those of us who participated in that initial cell wanted to direct the agitation that we promoted in the university consciously toward the overthrow of Ubico. Our challenge was finally issued in mid-June of 1944 in the form of an **ultimatum** — and we used the word — to Ubico, threatening a general strike (Strike! Horrors! No one had even dared to use the word) if our demands were not settled within a period of twenty-four hours. The most daring of these demands was for university autonomy. It was at that point that we were condemned as "nazi-fascist agitators."

But a miracle occurred. Behind us arose the Guatemalan people, which, until then, had seemed to be mere zombies, without blood or soul. The poor, teachers, artisans, women from the markets, housewives, employees, workers from our few factories, school children and adolescents, bootblacks, everyone moved into the street, surrounded the **Palacio Nacional** and shouted for the resignation of the tyrant. The spontaneous demand was significant:

"Resign! We are hungry!"

Professionals, lawyers, intellectuals, some merchants, some industrialists and even some resentful farm-owners — what might be called our "bourgoisie" — joined the rebellion. The people resisted cavalry charges, sabre thrusts, burns, shots, tear gas and clubbings. Some fell, among them a teacher, María Chinchilla, who became a heroine and a symbol. These were the "days of June," which were followed by a silence

that terrified Ubico. Buses, trains, taxis, even bicycles, were immobilized. Movie houses, law offices, pharmacies, stores, schools, hospitals and courts all closed their doors. For an entire week, Guatemala City seemed dead. Helpless against this unrecognizable Guatemalan people, Ubico resigned and left the country. He fell apart, like Alberti's **Giant Amapolas.**

THE REVOLUTION OF OCTOBER 20

The people did not seize power at that moment, although they were on their way to it. A band of thieves and opportunists fell upon the vacant seat of public authority and imposed, via the legislative assembly, the designation of an imbecile with the rank of general, Federico Ponce, as president ad interim with the idea of imposing him later as "constitutional" president and perpetuating themselves, with him, in power. Slow-witted by nature, they named themselves the Liberal Party, which constituted an additional provocation of the people, since Ubico had also called himself a "liberal" and "progressive liberal." No other phrase was more detested than this. But these individuals, like Ubico, like the country itself until then, still lived in the previous century and saw the great, popular anti-Ubico, anti-Ponce movement as a maneuver of the **cachuredos** (nickname of the conservatives of the past century). As the people began to speak of the exiled professor Juan José Arévalo as a possible candidate to oppose the underhanded maneuvering of the Ponce clique, the group in power invented the term **arevalo conservatismo.** Hitting closer to home, it called us **sinarquistas.** Bells were ringing . . .

But behind all of this, with its flavor of comic opera, of Grand Guignol, lay a number of factors. There were the coffee plantations which Ubico, by Yankee order, had expropriated from their powerful German owners, led by Nottebohn & Company, as "enemy property."

(Having declared war against the Axis powers, Ubico was an ally of the democracies.) The clique which had taken possession of the **Palacio Nacional** had its eye especially on those plantations. But the great popular movement that grew steadily more gigantic as it spread from the capital to the entire nation, stood in its way. Even rural Indian sectors, the most lethargic in the country because they were the most humiliated and exploited both in depth and time, responded to the agitation of the students, and were now consolidated in a political party which we named the **Frente Popular de Liberación**, although no one knows precisely why. New political parties had sprung up among the people, purely electoralist and lacking any ideological platform, but stoutly willing to struggle against the Ponce clique, which they saw as a continuation of all that Ubico had represented. Em-

bryonic labor organizations were raising their heads and voices against exploiting enterprises, especially the railroads and the banana industry. And, finally, something new and decisive had occurred: army officers from the rank of major on downward, who saw the shape of things to come or simply wished to "cleanse themselves of the filth which the tyranny had smeared them were speaking of instituting a "democratic" government. Within that officialdom, an exception was a 29-year-old captain who sensed the depth of what was occurring, the most far-sighted and determined of them, a man of deep social and patriotic sensibility. His name was Jacobo Arbenz.

Other discontented army officers had more or less private reasons for rebelling against Ponce, but their democratic sense was superficial and short-lived, as became evident shortly thereafter, and totally apparent ten years later. As we shall see, the roots of what was to occur in 1954 were already present in 1944. But, during the night of October 19, these officers distributed arms to the people and led them in battle against the clique in the **Palacio Nacional** and against the forts and military elements that obeyed it. The 20th was a day of popular triumph that marked the end of what the people called "the 108 days" of struggle against the Ponce clique. The triumph had been won by the popular masses throughout the country, almost spontaneously and admirably mobilized, in open defiance of the forces of repression, the spies, informers and assassins to whom Ponce had given free rein since August in an attempt to halt the movement toward **arevalismo.**

Why **arevalismo?** An explanation is necessary, since it confirms the general ideological illiteracy that existed, without excepting Arévalo himself, who had been chosen by the voluntary will of the masses to be the civil leader of "the revolution." The masses, certainly, were clearly aware of the need to wipe out the shameful political past of the country and to open new horizons. In that respect, they were clear-sighted. But they were mistaken in their solutions, because they believed that the shameful past could be liquidated by the mere overthrow of Ubico in June and the triumph over Ponce in October and that new horizons would automatically open with the honest and overwhelming election of Arévalo, "the pure-white candidate." Unsullied by politics, a civilian, thirty-nine years old, a Doctor of Philosophy and Pedagogy, Arévalo was also a courageous and eloquent man who knew how to speak to the people in a language previously unknown among the cowardly and conformist intellectuals who had most often been unscrupulously servile in their attitude toward the country's de facto governments. Thus the popular battle cry and standard was "Viva Arévalo!" which the indigenous masses deformed in their own way to: "Viva Révolos!"

Since no one knew what a real revolution consisted of, we thought

that it was complete with the fall of Ponce. And so it was baptized, and continues to be known as "the Revolution of the 20th of October." But it was as yet no such thing. It was, yes, a great conquest, won at the cost of great sacrifice and great courage on the part of the people of Guatemala, the greatest, perhaps, in its history. But, so far, all that had been won was "the right to begin," as Fidel Castro said in 1959, referring to the Cuban Revolution.

WE BEGAN WHERE WE SHOULD HAVE ENDED

But we did not begin where we should have. A Revolutionary Junta integrated by the leaders of the armed struggle of the 20th of October — Major Francisco Javier Arana, Captain Jacobo Arbenz and with Jorge Toriello, civilian — adopted drastic measures that were both just and necessary but insufficient to give the movement a genuinely revolutionary character. The germs of the reaction that was to place itself on the side of imperialism in 1954, destroying the process of transforming the country —by then genuinely revolutionary — were left intact. The constitution, that had never been used, was abolished; the mock legislative assembly left by Ubico and used by Ponce, was dissolved; some sixty old-line generals were expelled from the country; the three men of the new government pledged themselves not to run for the presidency and to respect the popular will, overwhelmingly favorable to Arévalo. All former police agencies were liquidated and a civil guard was created, composed of students, teachers and workers. Teachers, students and workers were elected to a new congress and then to a constitutional Assembly. The people acclaimed these measures, but their almost-total political inexperience, as I have explained, prevented them from demanding a greater and genuinely revolutionary deepening of the movement.

With enormous goodwill, the Revolutionary Junta issued Decree Number 17, on the 28th of November 1944, that now, in the light of our own and others' experiences, seems pathetically candid and demonstrates the degree of ingenuousness of those of us who considered ourselves revolutionaries. We were the generation that had grown up sequestered in the tyranny of Ubico. The first article of that Decree stated:

"The following are declared to be fundamental principles of the Revolution of the 20th October:

I. Decentralization of the executive power and effective separation of State powers.

II. Suppression of presidential-designates and their substitution by a vice-president.

III. Alternation in power, abolition of reelection and recognition of the right of the people to rebellion when this is attempted.

IV. A new constitution and the organization of the army in such a form as to guarantee its apolitical position and permit its fulfill-

ment of the function for which it was instituted: the defense of liberty, the constitution and national integrity, creating through the new organization an effective guarantee for its members that their profession rest on solid bases that cannot be destroyed at the whim of the chief executive, who will have no authority in regard to the technical or professional aspects of the military organization, these being delegated to a superior military council for the purpose of assuring the social and professional position that the members of this organization deserve.

V. Democratic organization of municipalities through the popular election of members.

VI. Effective autonomy of judicial power.

VII. Autonomy of the national university.

VIII. Constitutional recognition of political parties of democratic tendency organized in compliance with law, and representation of minorities in the nation's electoral colleges.

IX. Obligatory suffrage and secret ballot for the literate. Obligatory suffrage and public ballot for the illiterate, but limiting the exercise of this right to municipal elections. Recognition of citizenship for women prepared to exercise it.

X. Effective administrative probity."

The army remained intact. Minus generals — who were useless in any event — it is true, but with colonels and other officers, who gave the impression, in the first moments, of having reeducated themselves overnight, of having abandoned their militarist habits, their traditional authoritarianism, their sense of superiority in regard to the rest of society, their brutal past; in other words, to have become civilized. It was an illusion. In every high-ranking officer — with, of course, a few honorable exceptions — the spirit of the old army of the tyranny remained alive, notwithstanding the fact that the military apparatus was now known as "the National Army of the Revolution." Thanks to their last-minute incorporation and unquestionably effective participation in the events of the 20th of October, the army officers considered themselves the sole authors of "the Revolution," owners of it and judges of both what it could do and what it could not do. From the first moment, they — totally ignorant of all that was not military — showed suspicion of what they considered "communism." Until 1949, although grumblingly, they remained respectful of the civilian authority represented by President Arévalo because he had in his favor the overwhelming moral force of popular support. But the leaders of the "revolutionary" political parties themselves set about to weaken this moral force, inviting the military to abandon its attitude of respect.

Also left intact was the fiercely dominant class of coffee barons. Dependent on its major client, Yankee imperialism, it was made up of semifeudal landowners who had always both supported, be-

hind the scenes, and leaned upon the strong-arm regimes of the past as their guarantee of the permanence of the existing agrarian structure: backward, unjust, barbarous, the cause of national inertia and the landowners' instrument for exploting the rural masses, in their majority indigenous. The coffee barons and other, equally parasitic, landowners, not only survived the 20th of October as a class but infiltrated "the Revolution" and even contributed to marking its course, for some of these — or their lawyers, bankers, newspapermen and other agents directly or indirectly on their payrolls, — were elected to the constituent Assembly elected amid the enthusiasm of the candid and euphoric democracy that followed in the wake of popular triumph. No one spoke in those days, nor in the first years of Arévalo's Administration, of agrarian reform, which should have been the first revolutionary measure, carried to its ultimate consequences, prior to convoking a constituent Assembly or preparing a constitution and electing a president who would be bound to its text.

The Constitution proved to be a counterrevolutionary hybrid. As something really new in constitutional legislation in Guatemala, it included a section of social guarantees and recognized, in abstract, certain rights of the working class. In exchange, ably wrapped up in highfalutin phraseology, it consolidated the agrarian structure of the country and, with it, the interests of the landowning class. It also consolidated the army as an autonomous entity with self-jurisdiction, almost as a fourth power of the Republic. At the same time, the executive authority was rigorously limited — as if the deputies, instead of legislating for the future, had legislated for the past, so as to shut in the same cell, full of articles, clauses and provisions, the Ubicos, the Ponces and all the other wild beasts which had governed prior to the 20th of October. And, to what purpose? When other wild beasts, similar to or even worse than they were, came to the forefront in 1954 from the ranks of the same army that had called itself "the National Army of the Revolution," the cell was demolished by a single blow, as though it had been made of cobwebs.

So far, imperialism had only sounded a few deep growls in response to the demands presented by the railroad and banana workers during the combative 108 days of Ponce, who, like Ubico and Orellana, had acted as a gendarme under the orders of Bradshaw or Turnbull or any other proconsul of the Boston Group. On October 21, the Yankee Ambassador, Boaz Long, presented himself in the **Palacio Nacional** to indicate to the **Junta** that General Miguel Ydígoras Fuentes — one of the three exceptions made in the round-up of generals — should be the provisional president. The reply of the **Junta** was excellent: Boaz Long and Ydígoras Fuentes, tutor and pupil, were obliged to depart rapidly from Guatemala.

Except for this incident, the imperialists limited themselves to observing the course of developments. The famous mastodon of intervention, Spruille Braden, presided over the U.S. delegation at the inauguration of Arévalo, and congratulated the outgoing Junta and the incoming president for their "untarnished and brilliant revolution" — precisely because, until that moment, no such revolution had taken place. Arévalo decorated Braden with the Gran Cruz de la Orden de Quetzal. The word imperialism still formed no part of the vocabulary of our political leaders.

THE UNHAPPY TASK OF THE "REVOLUTIONARY" PARTIES

Those of us who had so abominated the phony Partido Liberal Progresista, composed of Jorge Ubico and his toadies — and no one else, proved to be, ironically enough, the true progressive liberals in the strict sense of the word. Institutionally, the Guatemalan State had not varied substantially. It continued to be a liberal bourgeois democracy, with moderate progress made in labor legislation, which, nevertheless, did not affect its essential character. The difference lay in the fact that the government was now in the hands of men who were sincerely convinced of the value of the principles of liberal democracy and were disposed to respect those principles, that is, to faithfully support the constitution. That, at least, was the case of Arévalo and of many of those who accompanied him in his government. And we believed that this would suffice to change Guatemala, to make it into a happy country, and that this was the revolution.

In reality, the country had changed in one respect: from within the government, we did everything possible to wipe out the dark, anachronistic and brutal past. Political liberty could be breathed in deeply in a way that had been impossible in the previous half century. And we tried to educate ourselves rapidly in an ideological sense, knowing that we were several decades behind the times. And this began to anger imperialism, the clergy, the landowners, a group of the military leaders, the old and adulatory press of the past (there was no other) that insolently called itself "independent." (It was indeed independent from the government, but not from its advertisers, the coffee growers of the AGA (Asociación Guatemalteca de Agricultores) and the United Fruit Company among the most lavish, nor from the Interamerican Press Association, dominated by "Colonel" Jules Dubois, well-known bloodhound of imperialism.) But among the very political parties that called themselves revolutionary, that is, among the leading groups, united until this moment, the same reaction took place, and the parties began to split apart. The well-known splinters began to appear. Some of us believed that the unlimited

exercise of liberty by all, without discrimination of any kind, was positive and revolutionary. Others, from ignorance or other motives, maintained that the "revolution" was being infiltrated by "communists," basing their arguments on the existence of unions, strikes and the restiveness of an incipient Marxism-Leninism among the younger political and labor leaders. Those who assumed this position, among them two of the ex-Junta triumvirate, Arana and Toriello, and other influential political figures such as Mario Méndez Montenegro, who committed suicide in 1966, moved gradually to the right under the slogan, "We didn't make the Revolution for this," until they found themselves, literally, walking arm-in-arm with their former enemies: the ex-Ubico supporters, the ex-Ponce followers, members of the AGA, the more fanatic Catholics, and all of the reactionary elements of the country. Méndez Montenegro was one of the leaders of the frustrated attempt at a coup in 1949 against Arévalo. Arana, author of the conspiracy and Head of the Armed Forces elected by Congress, was killed when a government picket-guard attempted to lay hands on him for being what he was, a conspirator.

The Constitution itself served as cover in the shadow of which the forces of reaction moved freely. Counterrevolutionary parties proliferated; the press attacked and launched misleading campaigns; conspiracies came into fashion (there were no fewer than thirty during the six years of Arévalo's term of office). The church proselytized, and converted the pulpit into a political tribune; the AGA and the Yankee railroad and banana monopolies lavishly subsidized newspaper campaigns and conspiracies and sent infiltrators into the ranks of the army. The publication of the Labor Code of 1947 and its respectful observance by the government set off the big guns of imperialism. Its powerful publicity media in the United States and all of the reactionary forces in Guatemala synchronized their offensive: the government of Arévalo was "communist." Yet Arévalo, as he demonstrated in word and deed, was anti-communist.

All of this, of course, was natural. Imperialism is imperialism, and reaction is reaction. To attempt to placate them, to explain that this was merely liberal democracy, that the laws and union organizations and labor policies were within the constitutional framework and that none of this was even remotely communist or socialist or anything of the sort, since the political philosophy that inspired the constitution was not only remote from, but contrary to, Marxism-Leninism, was to waste one's time. Imperialists and reactionaries grew steadily more insolent and the latter perfected their organization. What was not natural, what was absurd, was that the political parties that called themselves "revolutionary" — El Frente Popular Libertador, Acción Revolucionaria and Renova-

ción Nacional — became involved in a bitter internecine struggle. What was more, the fierce attacks were not only inter-party but inter-factional within the parties. It was not even a question of ideological polemics, although the word communism was interminably bandied about, for these parties had no ideology; they were arevalistas and later arbencistas or antiarbencistas. The question was to obtain more cabinet posts or more key bureaucratic positions or more seats in congress or the control of more municipalities, with an eye to obtaining new electoral gains. An endless fight.

This was, perhaps, the greatest service that the "revolutionary" political parties rendered to imperialism and national reaction. The sole exception in this regard was the Guatemalan Labor Party (Partido Guatemalteco del Trabajo), the infant Communist Party that had been organized clandestinely in the last days of Arévalo's Administration and was legalized under that of Arbenz. The dog-eat-dog struggles ended by completely undermining the confidence of the masses in the governmental parties. The union movement, which was developing and unifying itself, wanted as little as possible to do with the parties. The campesinos were disconcerted by the proselytizing of each political party against the others. Weren't they all a part of the government? The army that, even in 1949, was partially loyal to civilian authority and shared with the political parties and unions the task of armed defense of constitutional order, ended by seeing the politicians as a band of opportunists and demagogues and by growing much more receptive to the insidious and misleading calumnies of the imperialists and reactionaries and to their promises, flattery and bribes.

THE RESULT OF THE ERRORS OF 1944

The Colonel Jacobo Arbenz who took possession of the presidency on March 15, 1951, was no longer the Captain Jacobo Arbenz that had signed the Revolutionary Junta decree of November 28, 1944. He was now a genuine revolutionary who knew what the essential problems of Guatemala were and what their solutions were and he was resolutely determined to apply them as drastically as reactionary and imperialist opposition might make it necessary. He was aware of the enemy's extraordinary ferocity and capacity for violent reaction against the slightest harming of its interests. What matters is not that that is exactly what happened. The fact is that he stood up to it, conscious of his historical responsibility and of his pact with the people who had elected him. He proposed agrarian reform and prepared to carry it out against all of the forces that opposed it: the powerful landowners of the AGA; the press that was paid by these landowners; the archbishop and his priests and fanatics — in brief.

against all of Guatemalan reaction, and also against the country's most powerful landowner, the United Fruit Company, and all that stood denied it — for the lands expropriated from the monopoly the Department of State, the Pentagon, the CIA, the OAS, etc. The question was now set forth in genuinely revolutionary terms. Against all that array of reactionary classes, Arbenz assumed the representation of the "poor of the earth," the campesinos without land or with very little land, the workers of the banana and coffee plantations, exploited for centuries, only somewhat less than slaves. Or slaves.

But if Arbenz was not the same as in 1944, the situation was not, either. If we had the political capacity in 1944 to install a revolutionary dictatorship, to create a popular army instead of leaving the old army virtually intact, to crush the reactionary landowners and clergy, to carry out agrarian reform without consideration for legal and juridical obstacles, thus giving the revolution an immense and solid popular base, it is improbable that Roosevelt would have undertaken any aggression against us, as he had not undertaken it six years before, against Cárdenas's expropriation of Mexico's oil wells. The Second the U.S. military capacity and it was not prepared to embark were not prepared to embark upon intervention or outright military aggression in Latin America. The revolution would have been consolidated and discussions would have been held afterwards, concerning the payment of indemnification to the United Fruit Company — which we never denied them — for the lands expropriated from the monopoly (although in point of fact it would have been undue indemnification, since those lands had been obtained fraudulently by the UFCO from servile Guatemalan politicians between 1901 and 1944). But we already know why none of this was done.

In 1952, when the long overdue Decree 900 on agrarian reform was issued and the program to liberate the national economy was carried into effect under the guidance of Arbenz, the mediocre Truman was President of the United States; virulent McCarthyism infected the U.S. political atmosphere; the CIA was already the "invisible government" and wielded the classical "big stick," as it had done in Iran against Mossadegh; Hiroshima and Nagasaki had been carbonized by atomic bombs; and the socialist camp had not yet recovered from its deep war wounds. Yankee imperialism was omnipotent. Even so, Arbenz counted on the support of the people. And he received it amply and firmly. But he overestimated — not only he, but everyone — the revolutionary quality or, at least, the patriotism of our army officers. And this proved to be dangerously erroneous on their part. Even if it had not been so, nothing could have been done. The time for arming the people and for organizing them into a revolutionary army, to replace the reactionary

army that was in the military barracks and command posts, had passed. It might have been possible in 1944, but by 1952 it was impossible. And that was the definitive factor. The army sold out to imperialism. It betrayed Arbenz and the revolution.

Arbenz called on the people and the people responded. He ordered that the people be armed, but the bribed officers who held the keys to the arsenals disobeyed the order and, contrariwise, passed over with these arms to the side of the enemy, to the side of reactionary retaliation, to the side of the past that returned in the figure of Castillo Armas, chaperoned by Yankee Ambassador Peurifoy and Papal Nuncio Verolino. Perfectly symbolic. The real revolution, which had barely commenced, was strangled in its cradle.

NOW THEY KNOW WHAT MUST BE DONE AND HOW TO DO IT

The 1954 defeat without a struggle was the worst disaster suffered by the Guatemalan people in modern history. I believe that it can only be understood by going back to 1944 and even earlier, as I have tried to do here.

My intention has not been to point an accusing finger at anyone or to define responsibilities, which no longer has any point, but to offer an experience, an example, to the new revolutionary generation — not only Guatemalan, but Latin American — not so much of what must be done as of what should not be done when — as must sooner or later occur — it takes power.

The ten years between 1944 and 1954 were not sterile, nor have the sufferings of the Guatemalan people in the past twelve years been in vain. From both periods a new generation has arisen that has not lived in limbo — as occurred with the generation of 1944 before it took power. The present generation has capitalized on all of the experiences of our generation and knows the causes for our defeat. For that reason, it is putting up the only fight capable of eliminating them: revolutionary war. The new Guatemalan rebellion is not directed merely against a government, be it military or civilian, de facto or elected by the misled masses. Now, the objective of rebellion is clearly defined: liberation of the country from imperialist neocolonialism. Now, the magnitude and the methods of the enemy are well-known, and no one is in doubt about the cost of this struggle. It will require immense sacrifices, and many obstacles must be overcome. This has been true of all of the revolutions and wars of liberation in history. It was true of the one that liberated Latin America from European colonialism in the last century. But, like all of these revolutions and all of these wars of liberation, that of Guatemala will eventually triumph within the great framework of Latin American redemption.

"PORTUGUESE" GUINEA: MEDICAL CARE OF THE GUERRILLAS

The editors of *Tricontinental* have received this exclusive material about the medical and hygienic conditions of the guerrilla forces of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde and its liberated regions, which we publish because of its undoubted interest. With this, we are including material, for the first time, of a scientific nature relating to the liberation struggles, which can serve as an example in underdeveloped areas.

"Portuguese" Guinea. West coast of Africa. The terrain is flat, broken occasionally by a few mountains, crossed by the rushing Cozubal, Geba and Cacheo rivers, which are navigable through most of their length. The climate is hot and humid and the temperature varies between 20 and 30 degrees. Four hundred and fifty years ago the Portuguese arrived here and took possession of the country.

Apart from the colonialist exploitation — one among a thousand evils — the Portuguese empire meant for this part of the world that ninety-nine percent of the population would remain illiterate and that it would have the highest death rate due to diseases such as hyproteinemia.

The guerrilla forces of the African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cape Verde are now struggling to change the status quo imposed on this country. In the beginning, the guerrilla movement had scarcely any of the personnel or equipment necessary for medical work. They had only a few nurses, a few fighters selected for this task, and some Party militants undergoing medical training.

The guerrilla forces of the PAIGC were organized in fronts and these,

in turn, into sectors. Each sector has one or two groups of guerrillas. Medical care and hygiene were adjusted to these factors and a head nurse was designated for each front. Subordinate to these head nurses were the sector nurses and, further down in the ranks and organizational levels, were the nurses of the guerrilla groups.

However, with the limited knowledge of these nurses and because of lack of equipment, many precious lives were lost to the PAIGC movement. This situation continued until 1965.

At that time, at a point on the long frontier of "Portuguese" Guinea, the Party gathered together several medical doctors, each one having full training: surgical, orthopaedic and clinical. The objective to be achieved was the creation of an efficient medical service for the guerrillas.

The first hospital was situated ninety kilometers from the frontier at Intuan in a part of the liberated territory. All the wounded of the different fronts had to be evacuated in the direction of Intuan.

From the point at the frontier where the doctors met, up to Intuan, wild rivers flow, the jungle becomes inaccessible, and quarters for Portuguese units might appear. From this group of doctors, three were assigned by their Party to the organization of the pioneer hospital at Intuan.

These three doctors made the difficult journey loaded with instruments and equipment. They had to make day-long treks, ford rivers and avoid approaches to enemy quarters. After this they understood the means of transport for the wounded: the legs, and for journeys of up to one hundred kilometers. They also visited the villages (tabankas) and saw the deplorable hygienic conditions.

When they reached Intuan, the guerrillas had almost completed the construction of the hospital, hidden under luxuriant vegetation that would obscure it from the view of Portuguese aircraft. They then met their auxiliary personnel: eight nurses and six combatants with limited training.

Four days later we were able to call Intuan our campaign hospital. Fifty beds were provided for orthopaedic and surgical cases and those suffering infectious diseases. In addition to these three wards there were operating "theaters," treatment centers, a dispensary, hospital supply room, kitchen, dining room for the sick and living quarters for the doctors and nurses.

Each room was forty meters long by ten to twelve wide. Each had walls of tree trunks and a roof of straw or leaves. Care was taken to leave the walls open to take

the greatest possible advantage of the sun's rays.

The greatest problem was the construction of the operating "theater." It was indispensable to provide the brightest and most sterile conditions possible. It was decided to build it twenty meters away from the other wards and ten meters away from the treatment center. The ceiling was made as high as possible (interwoven and a huge mosquito net was prepared to obtain total isolation of the theater).

The instruments were sterilized by boiling and then by keeping them in closed metal containers. The provision of sterilized clothing was a serious problem. It was always taken to the operating room with the greatest possible asepsis, and finally a method for sterilization was devised using steam. Rubber gloves and other utensils were kept in hygienic conditions through the use of sterilizing solutions.

The third day after the arrival of the doctors at Intuan, they began to receive the first of the wounded from the fighting fronts and from the civilian population. A thirty-year-old woman, wounded during the bombing of her peaceful village, was the first person to receive attention. She had a fractured leg with torn muscle tissue and vascular wounds. Her general condition was serious and therapeutics were performed previous to the operation — which resulted in an amputation.

In this and in subsequent cases, in which even laparotomies and resectionings of the small intestines were performed, much experience was gained and surgical and anaesthetic techniques were notably improved.

Many times a local anaesthetic injection was used. It was necessary to use a large quantity of the anaesthetic agent but, in spite of this, patients were restless during operations, being most traumatic when laparotomies were performed. So the use of ether and pentothal was initiated, in association with chlorpromazine and morphine, and induction was practised at the moment the anaesthetic was given with ether and chlorpromazine. Pentothal was administered intravenously. The local anaesthetics were boosted by the action of barbiturates or morphine.

One of the doctors noted: "The method wasn't new in anaesthesia and maybe it wasn't the ideal form but it was adequate for us, lacking both technical and material means.

"To light the operating theater we used hand lamps and, during the operation, we used flashlights to provide direct local lighting.

"Along with the work of treating those wounded in the war, we had to develop methods of hygiene for our people and the guerrilla fighters. They came to us daily seeking medical attention, all of which increased our work load.

"The most common illnesses are tuberculosis, malaria, trachoma, varying types of avitaminosis and of hypoproteinemia, beriberi, intestinal parasites, skin lesions such as leprosy, sleeping sickness, etc.

"The great variety of ailments presented grave problems, above all because of the serious shortage of medicines. The work was not restricted to operations and medical attention. We supplied equipment and medicines, and gave orientation in their use, for the sick at distant points close to the fighting fronts.

"Later on, the Front's Health Directorate decided to give classes in infirmary practice to the comrades at the hospital. We found new girls in the neighbourhood villages and enrolled them in this work. A school was created for illiterates and others requiring instruction based on our own school system.

"We determined to visit the populated areas near the hospital, providing, in this manner, the first steps towards hygiene and treatment of epidemics for the local people.

"The work multiplied: we carried out in the months from June to September 1966, more than thirty surgical operations, including amputations of extremities made necessary by bullet wounds or fragmentation bombs, or often by the setting in of gangrene; laparotomies for lesions of the small intestines, colon, bladder and liver; performing, at various times, colostomy derivatives, resectionings and anastomoses of the small intestines, sutures of the bladder, etc.

"Intuan, our first campaign hospital, received wounded from all fronts as well as from the ailing civil population. We received combatants who had been wounded one hundred kilometers or more from the hospital. It took them many days to arrive and, therefore, to receive attention. We had cases of

abdominal wounds two or three days old, the difficulties being then much more serious because the wounds were infected and in poor condition. We were required to give much more drastic medical attention to these cases and, on many occasions, we did not have the necessary means.

"We were able to provide medical and surgical attention to those wounded who arrived at Intuan and, on those occasions where further treatment was required with better means and techniques, we evacuated them to a hospital at the rear.

"The increasing work load, the wounded arriving three or four days late, the necessity of creating improved conditions guaranteeing a rehabilitation stage and taking sanitary organization to more liberated regions, obliged the Party to think in terms of more campaign hospitals.

"Also, the enemy had taken note of the advances in the medical treatment of the guerrillas and decided to destroy the base hospital at Intuan. Several spies were captured while the airplanes were dropping their deadly cargoes. As a security precaution, the Intuan hospital was moved several times to other areas of the liberated territory.

"Months later, some hospitals were organized in the southern region. These adopted the same structure as Intuan, with a skilled surgeon (clinical or orthopaedic) in charge. In this manner, assistance to both the guerrillas and the civilian population was assured and steps for evacuation were improved.

"With this ranking system and organization, the medical care and hygiene of the PAIGC guerrillas made notable advances. Our concern was not only to offer medical attention, but to select new militants to take courses of study in brother countries. Today they are being trained as nurses, anaesthetists and doctors. In this way the organization is improved."

But upon the medical corps of the PAIGC there weighed the difficulties of the lack of medicine and equipment — above all, of antibiotics (both oral and injection) plasma, glucose and electrolytic serums, vitamins, barbiturates, analgesics, anti-spasmodics, anti-catarrhals, local anaesthetics, pentothal, ether, adhesive tape, bandages, plasters, hypodermic needles, sutures, etc.

In spite of this, however, medical developments, as well as the guer-

rillas, are advancing. Before each military operation, the guerrilla leader meets the doctor in charge to determine beforehand the means of treatment and evacuation. In certain actions recently carried out by the PAIGC, a medical post was established close to the scene of battle and complete medical aid up to the surgical level was available from this post.

A special source of satisfaction for the guerrilla doctors is their visits to the villages on treatment and prevention missions. There they are received with joy and love by the native peoples, who are receiving medical attention for the first time in the history of "Portuguese" Guinea.

The guerrilla groups of the PAIGC have solved great problems with regard to the organization of medical care, providing a safe and secure haven for the guerrilla in action, who sees in the doctor a combatant who is eager to help him with his knowledge and technical ability in agonizing situations. This experience is, of course, a reciprocal one, for the doctor's capabilities improve in several respects, not the least of which is a deeper humanism.

..."get well soon, to return to fight against the *tugas*"

Doctors and people.

Solution of a problem: bandages.

Air raid shelters in a hospital.

meridian liberation

OCCUPIED SOUTH YEMEN: FEDERATION OR REVOLUTION?

SPECIAL: the Algeria of the British

Today the world press is giving more and more coverage to the so-called question of Aden. Simultaneously, it has become the chief concern of many foreign offices and organizations. In London, Jidda, Washington, Cairo and San'a the question is in the forefront of political and diplomatic activities. The United Nations and the Arab League are scenes of frantic negotiations, meetings and maneuvers. The General Staff, the chiefs of the three Armies and the British Prime Minister have met frequently to examine the situation in Aden and the protectorates. British authorities, through the High Commissioner in Aden, have recognized the collapse of the so-called Government of Federation and of its political parties and even the inability of the Federal Army to handle the situation militarily or politically.

At the same time, British authorities have repeated their promises of independence by January 1968 and evacuation of all their military troops. After seven years of violating all agreements, resolutions and recommendations of the United Nations and its Special Committee on Colonialism regarding the question of Aden and other protectorates, they have decided to ask the U. N. for its "good offices," of the sort used in Palestine and the Congo (L).

It should be stressed that all the headlines, promises and maneuvers have come about for a reason. In South Yemen the guerrilla fighters and commandos, thanks to their daring actions, have become front page news and the object of the most diverse analyses by international news commentators. In four years of intense armed struggle in this remote region, virtually unknown until a few months ago, South Yemenite patriots have thrown the entire political and military machine of British imperialism into crisis in this very strategic area.

A BIT OF HISTORY ON AN ALMOST UNKNOWN REGION

British colonialism has occupied this region since 1839, with the active collaboration of the traditional exploiters of the Arab peoples: the sheiks, sultans and emirs. One factor helped them to impose their rule: tribal and local rivalries generated by disputes among the emirs, sultans and sheiks, which were deliberately aggravated to guarantee colonial occupation.

British rule kept the people divided and encouraged existing antagonisms, exploiting alike the Lahej shepherd and the Dhala farmer but, at the same time, setting them up against each other in fruitless conflict. "Divide and conquer" was the classic maxim applied, thus preventing for a long period of time any manifestation or formation of national feeling or conscience.

Using the most modern methods of exploitation and control evolved by the imperialist world, Great Britain began to draw up a neo-colonialist formula in 1954 with the aim of applying it in its so — called protectorate of South Yemen. The strategic position of the region, because of its location in respect to the Red Sea, the Middle East, and Africa; its proximity to the Republic of Yemen, the Saudi Arabian monarchy, Muscat and Oman; and the region's favorable petroleum prospects made up the picture of British interest in the area. Thus, a plan arose for the formation of a South Arabian Federation, to which formal independence would be granted, but which would exclude, and this point is still insisted upon, the islands and the eastern region of Hadhramaut, key areas for access to the Red Sea and the site of the largest deposits of oil, respectively.

More than 100 years of colonial occupation, plus the exploitation of the sheiks, sultans and emirs, resulted in the first outbreaks of armed struggle against British colonialism in 1963. In its beginnings, armed struggle took place spontaneously and locally. Its accelerated development endowed the combatants with a growing national conscience and clearer political objectives in the struggle against British imperialism and its local agents. In these years of fierce struggle, the guerrilla fighters of Radfan and Kathiri have reached a common identity through their actions and aspirations. These guerrillas, in turn, linked themselves with the commandos in Aden and Mukalla. In four years, their forces have increased constantly, together with the number and importance of their actions against British and "federal" troops.

Revolutionary solidarity, especially the republican triumph in Yemen in 1962, contributed and still contributes to stimulating the revolutionary struggle in occupied South Yemen.

During this process nationalist and revolutionary organizations arose which, undoubtedly, helped to organize and better direct the patriotic efforts of the people of South Yemen towards their liberation. Thus appeared the Trade Union Congress, the People's Socialist Party, the Organization for the Liberation of the Occupied South, the National Liberation Front and more recently, as a unifying force, the Front for the Liberation of Occupied South Yemen (FLOSY).

Throughout the eight years which have elapsed since 1959, the British have tried to lay the basis to change their already frayed colonial clothing for the more up-to-date and efficient garb of neo-colonialism. They tried to make the Federation of South Arabia and all its appendages (Supreme Council, Federal Army, South Arab League, etc.) a perfect instrument for their aims. Nevertheless, armed action by the people of South Yemen has resulted in a spectacular deterioration of the system, and more than 18,000 British soldiers, backed by Hawker Hunters and Centurions, have been unable to prevent its collapse.

THE ALGIERS OF THE BRITISH

Leaving behind the worried news reports of New York, London and Paris, the visitor is struck by the living reality of Aden. Its port of necessary call between the Indian Ocean and Mediterranean via Suez is extremely busy. Normally from ten to fifteen ships of different tonnage are undergoing repairs or loading supplies at the docks of Aden. The city, with its Arab quarters and European sections, seems to sprout from the wild, barren landscape predominant in South Arabia. At first sight, however, the impression of the city is pleasing. M'aalla, an exclusive European district, with its wide four-lane avenues full of modern vehicles and elegant stores frequented by British subjects, offers a concrete image of colonial occupation. We can scarcely find an Arab in this section of the city; occasionally, we can see a Hindu turban or a Sikh beard, indicating the presence of the old native sepoys, hated here as in East Africa. We must walk towards Crater, Sheikh Othman or Al Mansoora to feel real Arab soil under our feet, and through the little side streets to see a world different from that of M'aalla. The luxury and ostentation of the European districts are here offset a hundredfold by the misery of the Arab quarters of Aden, the true Aden.

They are two worlds, different and antagonistic. The British and their local agents try to isolate the Arab quarters by building high walls covered with barbed wire. All entrances and exits are controlled by an interminable chain of checkpoints consisting of

sandbag parapets, spotlights placed on top of observation towers, squads or companies of British soldiers with their red or black berets, armed with submachine guns and automatic rifles. Artillery-equipped jeeps and armored cars complete the picture of these checkpoints.

Although the checkpoints are generally stationary, there are also the mobile type: five or six British soldiers who with the help of large empty oil barrels unexpectedly blockade a certain street. The stationary checkpoints are there to guarantee strict control; the mobile, to use the element of surprise against the movements of "terrorists."
But walls, barbed wire and checkpoints are not enough. In front of each building or store there is a red or black beret mounting guard with his finger on the trigger of his weapon. For their protection, the British do not trust even their own creation, the federal soldiers. The main avenues of Aden, the streets and suburbs are constantly patrolled, day and night, by trucks, jeeps and even armored cars full of British soldiers with weapons cocked, observing the front, sides and back, paying special attention to roofs, windows, unlit areas and street corners.

At the same time, foot patrols, generally composed of five British soldiers, march through the streets. The excessive tension produced by the imminence of danger shows in the gestures and features of these men. They walk three on the left and two on the right; one submachine gun and automatic rifle in front and the same in the back; in the middle walks the radio operator in contact with the high command. This is the combat order used by the patrols, that always walk and cross streets with great caution, in graduated vaulting movements.

"This is still not enough," declared a British colonel to a Reuter correspondent. "We have had many bitter experiences in Greece, Malaya and Cyprus." Aden is under constant and strict low-altitude helicopter observation, the aim of which is "to detect enemy activity" and to guide the movements of British troops.

The mobile and foot patrols indiscriminately stop any passing Arab. Britons or sepoys are not molested. "Face the wall, you pig," is the insulting order the Arabs receive, while rifles and submachine guns are aimed, naturally from a prudent distance. A British soldier searches the detained Arab carefully. Any complaint or attempt at protest is silenced by a kick, the blow of a rifle stock or outright murder.

This is British Aden; M'aalla, Khormaksar, Little Aden. The British attempt to surround, isolate and harass the Arab quarters, but obtain the very opposite of what they seek: those who are surrounded, isolated and harassed are the British themselves. The

walls and the barbed wire cannot isolate the people, but on the contrary, they isolate the British, pushing them towards the sea.

The pleasant impression is forgotten, destroyed, almost as soon as the visitor leaves the airport. The atmosphere of violent repression, of luxury and poverty, of military patrols and checkpoints, of forced arrests and searches, offers the real image of today's Aden. Here, the term **manu militari** is something more than a phrase for encyclopedias or courtrooms. This is "British law and order" impregnated with a special meaning.

But from the entrails of Crater, Sheikh Othman and Al Mansoora has come the armed challenge to British law and order. During the day, the tension in Aden is dissimulated, masked by the traffic of vehicles, passers-by and port and commercial activities. As the sun goes down, the atmosphere thickens, tension not only increases but takes form: the British and the hated sepoys, emirs, sheiks and sultans disappear from the streets to take shelter in their homes; the foot patrols withdraw. Remaining are only the checkpoints and the mobile patrols, reinforced and aided by innumerable spotlights.

A British mobile patrol in a truck moves through the vicinity of Crater. Under its heavy front wheels a mine explodes, followed by several rounds of submachine-gun fire on the soldiers in the back of the truck. From amid the twisted metal, the dead and the wounded, come two or three shots in a dying answer. The results of the successful mission are six British soldiers dead and two wounded.

Two trucks and a jeep are on their way to Al Mansoora to relieve the personnel of the most important stationary checkpoint in the zone, which is, in practice, Aden's principal point of entrance and exit. The darkness of the night is scarcely broken by lights or passers-by. Suddenly, a prolonged burst of machine-gun fire hits the jeep, killing the driver and several of his passengers. The jeep crashes into the metal door of a small store. The officer in charge of the patrol is killed; soldiers jump from the trucks and blindly open fire against roofs and windows, ignorant of the exact location of the patriots. A few minutes later, they realize that they are no longer being fired on. They stop their fire and, as if to placate their impotence, comb the zone in search of so-called collaborators of the "terrorists."
Over the walls and barbed wire, grenades fly into the British districts from the Arab quarters. Time bombs explode in different areas occupied by the British, even in the important petroleum installations of Tawahi, producing enormous fires that light up the entire city.

This is Aden, night after night. The light of day does not prevent

the activities of the snipers, the ambushes and sabotage. When the patriots carry out a mission, the entire British military machine contracts, sees red and blindly swings into action. Trucks and jeeps dash about at breakneck speed; the foot patrols move faster and, at the slightest "suspicious" action, open fire indiscriminately. Immediately afterwards come the raids, arrests, tortures and murders.

Those who carry out these missions are humble people —workers, in the immense majority of cases— many of them young people. They call themselves "commandos" and are a prolongation and decisive complement to the guerrilla struggle in the mountains. "They are our brothers," they say of the guerrilla fighters. "We began the struggle together and together we will win. Victory belongs to our martyrs, to all those who have fought against the British and their local agents," declared a young dock worker, one of the commando chiefs in Aden.

The commandos work systematically, implacably, showing no mercy to the enemy that, during more than 125 years, showed no mercy to the people of South Yemen. "Terrorists" is what the British call them. Coming from those who have applied terror freely for more than a century, the word offers macabre irony. The missions, sabotage and ambushes take place uninterruptedly. With growing frequency, the commandos have been using machine-guns and mortars in their missions. The recent mortar attacks on the buildings housing the British High Commissioner, Trevelyan, and the Command of the British Forces in the Middle East led to an outbreak of panic in high official circles in Great Britain; the echo of the explosions has altered the daily routine of political activity at No. 10 Downing Street.

The commandos operate on a battlefield made up of side streets and slums, roofs and windows, hallways and attics; at times, even main streets and avenues are included in their terrain. Here they move, live, attack and escape. Here the British, the "federals" and their collaborators die.

During the spectacular explosion of the enormous Caltex and Mobil Oil petroleum tanks, amidst the distant sound of machine-gun fire and deafening explosions, an old captain of a French merchant ship, standing in the doorway of the Sea View Hotel in Aden, commented to other foreigners watching the huge flames: "This is Britain's Algeria. Soon, they'll realize it."

GUERRILLA MOUNTAINS

The outlines of the installations at the important British air base in Dhala can be seen clearly in the moonlight: the high barbed wire fences surrounding it, the

control tower, the barracks, the parapets and machine-gun nests. On the runway are the silhouettes of the Hawker Hunters, some helicopters and transport planes. At a distance from the main installations where British personnel live and work are rows of tents, the living quarters of the federal soldiers.

The base is located on a semi-desert plain at the foot of the Jihaf mountains. By order of the British command, the base is kept darkened; however, the federal soldiers are instructed to keep some lights in their tents. Contradictory? Not at all. On five different occasions in the last few months the guerrillas have come down from the mountains to attack the base, and lights of the "federals" are supposed — in British thinking — to divert the fire of the guerrillas from the direction of the base. Unfortunately for the British, this is not what happens. The guerrillas' rifles, machine guns and even bazookas are aimed with optimum results on the dark outlines and silhouettes of British installations and equipment.

Naturally, to do this the guerrillas must come quite near, so near that they can touch the barbed wire surrounding the base. This demands of the guerrilla extreme caution, great physical effort, self-control and the proper selection of the routes by which to attack and retreat. Crawling over hundreds of meters of sand almost as cold as ice is not easy or comfortable, especially when the British use the most modern detecting devices.

After each attack on the Dhala air base, the guerrilla forces return to the mountains, to the places where they were born, raised and taught to hate, from generation to generation, the British, the sheiks, sultans and emirs: a hatred inculcated in the young people by the patriarchs of the villages and tribes; a hatred inflamed by the heat of infinite misery.

In the mountains the guerrillas take a well-earned rest. They squat around a boiling cauldron full of mutton spiced with pepper, over a primitive hearth. All help themselves to typical Arab bread and meat with their hands. The guerrillas take advantage of the pause to listen to their transistor radios: Radio Taiz, the BBC, Aden and Cairo are the stations most frequently tuned in. Along with the news from the Arab world, Viet-Nam awakens the most attention and interest. Probably most of the guerrilla fighters could not locate Viet-Nam on the map; nevertheless, their identification with the cause of Viet-Nam is complete; their admiration for this small country is unlimited. The expression "Yankee imperialism" is a familiar one. It is astounding to see these men who, a few years ago, had hardly identified with one another, now identifying themselves with their

fellowman in Palestine, Syria, Oman, Egypt and Viet-Nam. There is no doubt: the struggle for independence brings deep revolutionary transformations. The guerrilla fighters talk and discuss among themselves and the conclusion is always the same: "Once the British are expelled, we will not permit any type of foreign interference, be it Yankee, Saudi, or whatever."

All this takes place inside the typical stone houses with earthen floors belonging to shepherds and farmers in dozens of villages in the mountains. Built on the highest points, the villages seem to hang suspended over precipices or canyons. The man from the city would ask: Why have they been built on the highest points, since the people must fetch water from the springs at the foot of the mountains? The village inhabitants, farmers, shepherds and guerrilla fighters would immediately answer: "We have always been able to defend ourselves better from above, the higher the better."

Sometimes there is no mutton to eat, perhaps too frequently for a normal man accustomed to a meat diet. But these small-statured tribesmen-guerrillas have a special constitution: they can resist the burning heat and sharp cold of Arabian deserts; they can walk dozens of kilometers without water and take only a few sips as they pass through some oasis or cross an almost dried-up creek, one of thousands that come down from the mountains and which, miraculously, still contain some precious liquid. The guerrillas, and the people of South Yemen in general, satisfy their centuries-old hunger by chewing "cat," an herb that is grown extensively and has stimulating effects on the undernourished body. The people chew "cat" for hours on end every day.

The guerrillas are constantly on the move. They cross mountains, the terraced land typical of the farms in this region, dry river beds, canyons and lowlands. The landscape is sometimes monotonous, the places seem to repeat themselves and from time to time, an intruder may fear he is lost, walking aimlessly around the same point. This is what always happens to the British, but not to the guerrilla fighter. He is the lord and master of this terrain which allows him to inflict defeats on the British and federal soldiers, and guarantees him his present supremacy.

As they move, the guerrillas must be constantly on the alert against their most dangerous enemy, British aviation, and in this respect the topography is of little aid to them. To avoid being seen from the air is far from easy. Dry river beds and rutted areas help, as do occasional shrubs and cultivated lands, or one must simply throw himself down — pray to Allah — and hope not to be spotted.

Sometimes a suicide combat takes place between the guerrilla who is discovered and the artillery-

equipped helicopters or Hawker Hunters. Some helicopters have been downed and in some cases fighter-bombers have been rendered ineffective. Throughout these years, rockets and napalm have caused the most damage, chiefly to innocent victims, the people of South Yemen.

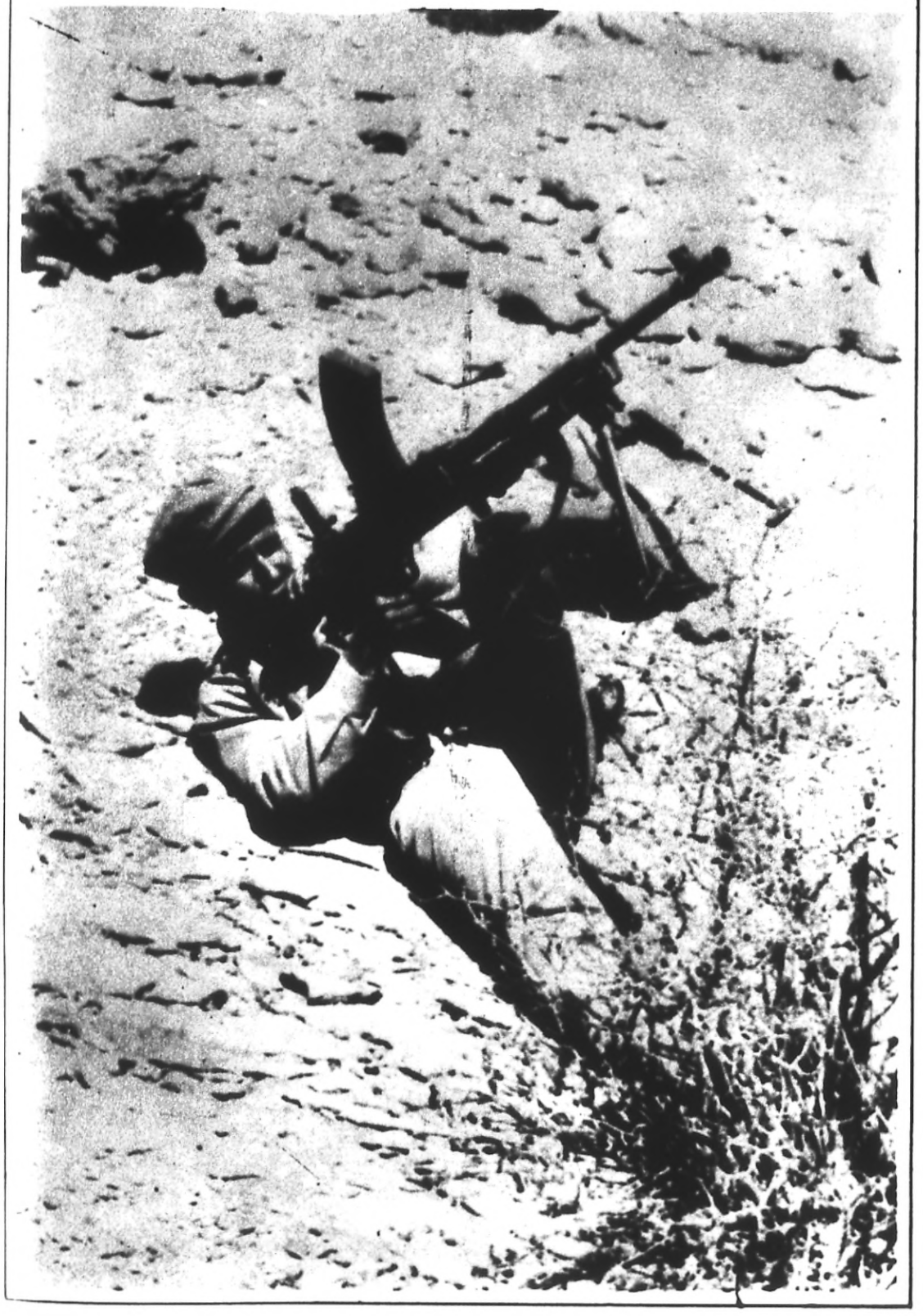
Leading the guerrilla forces of Dhala is Commander Alí, a young peasant who calculates his age to be between 23 and 25 years. When he was very young he joined the so-called Federal Army. His motive: unemployment and subsistence. In the federal ranks this hatred grew. He began to conspire with other young men. At last, he was arrested and jailed. Immediately after completing his sentence, he returned to active struggle, but, this time, via the road of the mountains, as a guerrilla fighter. This was three years ago. Today he is commander of the guerrillas, the undisputed authority in all Dhala among the peasants and shepherds, who respect and admire him. Many times, Alí uses his rest periods to settle legal disputes regarding land or water rights or family quarrels.

Alí always explains everything to his men. The objective is to expel the British and their agents, to change the country. How? For Alí, the theoretical concepts of "capitalism," "transition" and "socialism" have little meaning. He summarizes his ideas: "My country does not have a single doctor. We want doctors, petroleum engineers, hospitals and education." He explains that, under present conditions, it is better to die in combat than to fall gravely wounded. "The operation of the bazookas and mortars," he continues, "the sights, the location of targets give us serious problems. Trial and error have been the teachers of the combatants operating these arms."

The guerrilla forces of Dhala have compelled the British and the federals to retreat to the air base. They leave the base only on rare occasions, under the constant danger of being ambushed, of having mines blow their armored cars to bits, or of falling under the accurate fire of rifles, machine-guns and bazookas. This is what happens in Radfan, Lahej, Aulaqui, Kathiri and other guerrilla-controlled regions in the country, up to the borders of Muscat, Oman and so-called Saudi Arabia. One day it is in Dhala, another in Radfan that a mobile patrol of federals protected by an armored car is decimated; tomorrow it may be in the vicinity of Mukalla that a heavily-armed British convoy, escorted perhaps by tanks, will be severely harassed.

These are the guerrilla fighters of South Yemen; this is how they live, think and act; and how, together with the urban commandos, they are forging their independence in blood and fire. Against them the Sandhurst elite, with all its tradition and experience, has smashed itself to pieces.

OCCUPIED SOUTH YEMEN: FEDERATION OR REVOLUTION?



Dhala: guerrilla zone.

Radfan: the ideal transportation.

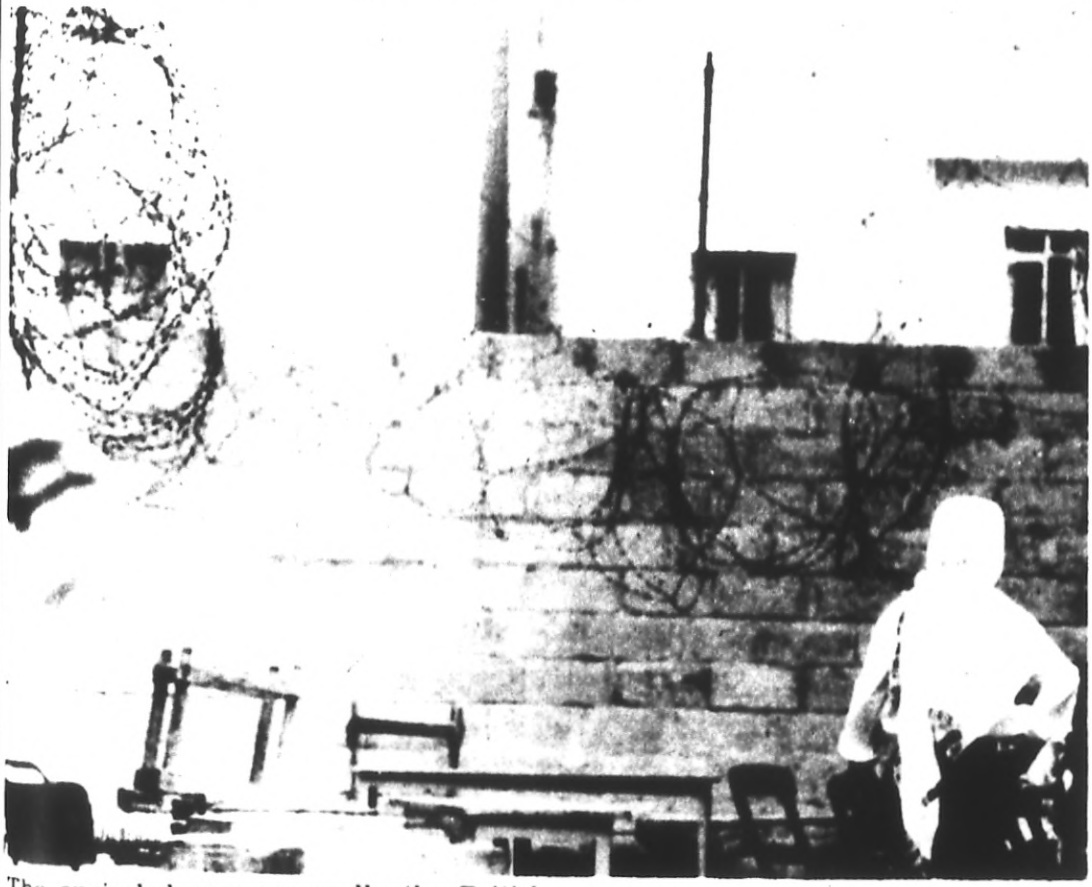
Before the ambush

Afterwards.

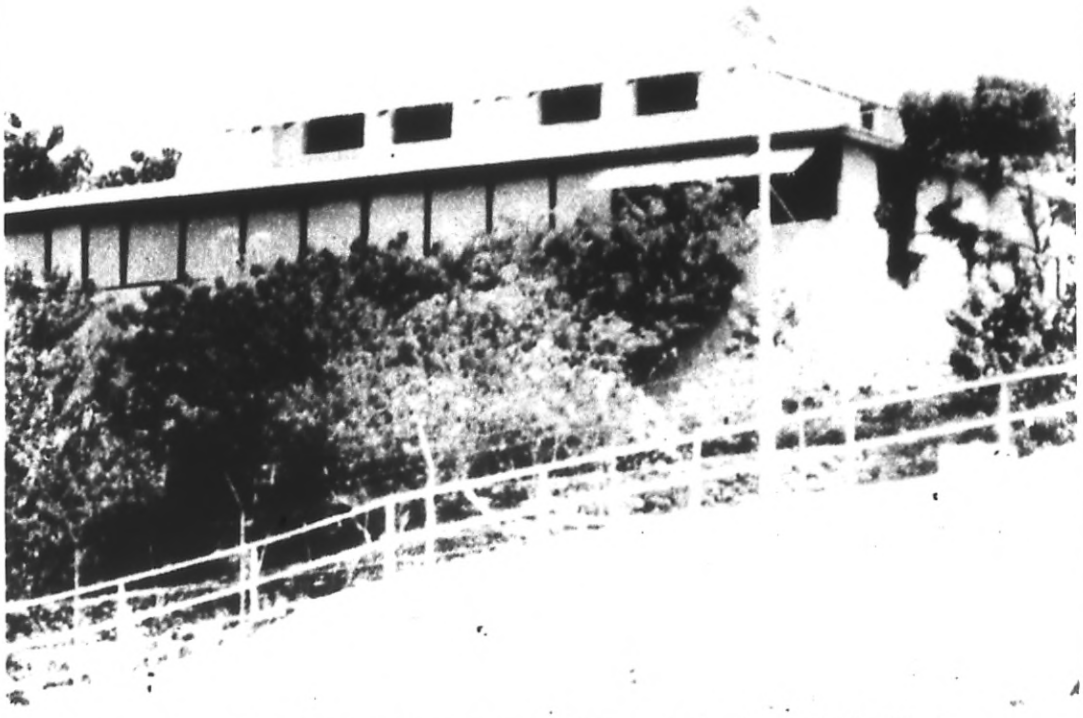
The bazooka: mortal enemy of armoured cars.

An ambush with "Bren Gun."

The zones covered with vegetation are very useful.



The encircled ones are really the British.



Seat of the General Headquarters of British Forces in the Middle East.

Mobile patrols: the most frequent ones.

They die . . .

. . just as they live.

notes for history

ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA:

STATEMENT BY FIDEL CASTRO AT THE SOLEMN TRIBUTE IN HAVANA

Revolutionary Comrades:

I first met Che one day in July or August 1955. And in one night —as he recalls in his writings— he became one of the future expeditionaries of the *Granma,* although at that time the expedition possessed neither ship nor arms nor troops. And that was how, together with Raúl, Che became one of the first two on the *Granma list.* And 12 years have passed since then; they have been 12 years filled with struggle and historic significance. During this time death has cut down many brave and invaluable men but, at the same time, extraordinary persons have arisen, forged from the men of the Revolution, and between those men and the people bonds of affection and of friendship have emerged which surpass all description.

Tonight we are meeting to try to express, to some extent, our feelings toward him who was one of the closest, the most admired, the most beloved and, without doubt, the most extraordinary of our revolutionary comrades; to express our feelings for him, for the heroes who have fought with him and fallen with him and for his internationalist army that has been writing a glorious and ineradicable historical epic.

Che was one those people who is liked immediately for his simplicity, his character, his naturalness, his comradely attitude, his personality, his originality, even when one had not yet learned of his other characteristic and unique virtues.

In those first days he was our troop doctor. And so our bonds of friendship and warm feelings for him were ever increasing.

He was filled with a profound spirit of hatred and loathing for imperialism, not only because his political awareness was already considerably developed, but also because, shortly before, he had had the opportunity of witnessing the criminal imperialist intervention in Guatemala through the mercenaries who aborted the Revolution in that country.

A man like Che did not require elaborate arguments. It was sufficient for him to know that there were men determined to struggle against that situation, arms in hand; it was sufficient for him to know that those men were inspired by genuinely revolutionary and patriotic ideals. That was more than enough. And so, one day at the end of November 1956, he set out on the expedition to Cuba with us. I recall that that trip was very hard for him since, because of the circumstances under which it was necessary to organize the departure, he could not even provide himself with the medicine he needed and, throughout the journey, he suffered from a severe attack of asthma with nothing to alleviate it but also without ever complaining. We arrived, set out on our first march, suffered our first setback and, at the end of some weeks, as you all know, a group of those who had survived the expedition of the *Granma* was able to reunite. Che continued to be the doctor of our troop.

We came through the first battle victorious, and Che was already a soldier of our troop and, at the same time, still our doctor. We came through the second victorious battle, and Che was not only a soldier but the most outstanding soldier in that battle, carrying out for the first time one of those singular feats that characterized him in all military action. Our forces continued to develop, and we faced another battle of extraordinary importance at that moment.

The situation was difficult. The information we had was erroneous in many respects. We were going to attack, in full daylight —at dawn— a strongly, well-armed position at the edge of the sea. Enemy troops were at our rear, not very distant, and in that confused situation in was necessary to ask the men to make a supreme effort. Comrade Juan Almeida had taken on one of the most difficult missions, but one of our flanks remained completely without forces; one of the flanks was left without an attacking force, placing the operation in danger. And at that moment Che, who was still functioning as our doctor, asked for two or three men, among

them one with a machine gun, and, in a matter of seconds, rapidly set off to assume the mission of attack from that direction.

On that occasion he was not only an outstanding combatant but also an outstanding doctor, attending the wounded comrades and, at the same time, attending the wounded enemy soldiers. After all the weapons had been captured and it became necessary to abandon that position,undertaking a long return march under the harassment of diverse enemy forces, it was necessary for someone to stay behind with the wounded, and Che stayed with the wounded. Aided by a small group of our soldiers, he took care of them, saved their lives and later rejoined the Column with them.

From that time forward he stood out as a capable and valiant leader, of that type of man who, when a difficult mission is pending, does not wait to be asked to carry it out.

Thus it was at the battle of El Uvero, but he had acted in a similar way on a not-previously-mentioned occasion in the first days when, following a betrayal, our little troop was attacked by surprise by a number of airplanes and we were forced to retreat under bombardment. We had already walked some distance when we remembered some rifles of some farmer-soldiers, who had been with us in the first actions and had then asked permission to visit their families at a time when there was still not much discipline in our embryonic army. And right then it was thought that possibly the rifles were lost.

I recall that the problem was not brought up again but during the bombardment, Che volunteered. Having done so, he quickly went out to recover those rifles.

This was one of his principal characteristics: his willingness to instantly volunteer for the most dangerous missions. And naturally this aroused admiration, and twice the usual admiration, for a fellow combatant fighting alongside us who had not been born here, a man of profound ideas, a man in whose mind stirred the dream of struggle in other parts of the continent and who was, nonetheless, so altruistic, so disinterested, so willing always to do the most difficult things, to constantly risk his life.

And that was how he won the rank of major and leader of the Second Column organized in the Sierra Maestra. Thus his prestige began to increase,

and he began to gain fame as a magnificent combatant who was to reach the highest posts in the course of the war.

Che was an incomparable soldier. Che was an incomparable leader. Che was, from a military point of view, and extraordinarily capable man, extraordinarily courageous, extraordinarily aggressive. If, as a guerrilla, he had his Achilles heel, it was this excessively aggresive quality, his absolute contempt for danger.

The enemy believes it can draw certain conclusions from his death. Che was a master of warfare. He was an artist of the guerrilla struggle and he demonstrated this an infinite number of times. But he showed it especially in two extraordinary deeds. One of these was in the invasion in which he led a column, a column pursued by thousands of enemy soldiers over flat and absolutely unknown terrain, carrying out —together with Camilo— an extraordinary military accomplishment. He also showed it in his lightning campaign in Las Villas Province, especially in the audacious attack on the city of Santa Clara, entering, with a column of barely 300 men, a city defended by tanks, artillery and several thousand infantry soldiers.

Those two heroic deeds stamped him as an extraordinarily capable leader, as a master, as an artist in the skills of revolutionary war. However, now, after his heroic and glorious death, some atempt to deny the truth or value of his concepts, his guerrilla theories.

The master may die —especially when he is master of an art as dangerous as revolutionary struggle— but what will surely never die is the art to which he dedicated his life, the art to which he dedicated his intelligence.

What is so strange about the fact that this master died in combat? What is stranger is that he did not die in combat on one of the innumerable occasions when he risked his life during our revolutionary struggle. And many times it was necessary to take steps to keep him from losing his life in actions of minor significance.

And so it was in combat —in one of the many battles he fought— that he lost his life. We do not have sufficient evidence to enable us to deduce the circumstances preceding that combat, to imagine to what extent he may have acted in an excessively aggressive way, but —we repeat— if, as a guer-

rilla, he had an Achilles heel, that Achilles heel was his excessive daring, his complete contempt for danger.

And this is where we can hardly agree with him, since we consider that his life, his experience, his capacity as a seasoned leader, his prestige and everything his life signified were more valuable, incomparably more valuable, than he himself perhaps believed.

His conduct may have been profoundly influenced by the idea that men have a relative value in history, the idea that causes are not defeated when men fall, that the powerful march of history cannot and will not be halted when leaders fall.

And that is true, there is no doubt about it. It shows his faith in men, his faith in ideas, his faith in example. However —as I said a few days ago— with all our heart we would like to have seen him as a forger of victories, to see victories forged under his leadership, since men of his experience, men of his caliber, of his really unique capacity, are not common.

We have a full understanding of the value of his example. We are absolutely convinced that many men will strive to live up to his example, that men like him will emerge from the heart of the peoples.

It is not easy to find a person with all the virtues that were combined in him. It is not easy for a person, spontaneously, to develop a personality like his. I would say that he is one of those men who are difficult to match and virtually impossible to surpass. But I would also say that the example of men like him contributes to the appearance of men of the same ilk.

In Che, we admire not only the fighter, the man capable of performing great feats. And what he did, what he was doing, the very fact of his rising, with a handful of men, against the army of the ruling class —trained by Yankee advisers sent in by Yankee imperialism and backed by the oligarchies of all neighboring countries— in itself constitutes an extraordinary feat.

And if we search the pages of history it is likely that we will find no other case in which a leader with such a limited number of men has set about a task of such import, a case in which a leader with such a limited number of men has set out to fight

against such large forces. Such proof of confidence in himself, such proof of confidence in the people, such proof of faith in men's capacity to fight can be looked for in the pages of history —but their like will never be found.

And he fell.

The enemy believes it has defeated his ideas, his guerrilla concepts, his points of view on revolutionary armed struggle. And what they accomplished, by a stroke of luck, was to eliminate him physically; what they accomplished was to gain an accidental advantage that an enemy may gain in war. And we do not know to what degree that stroke of luck, that stroke of fortune, was helped along, in a battle like many others, by that characteristic of which we spoke before, his excessive aggressiveness, his absolute disdain for danger.

This also happened in our War of Independence. In a battle at Dos Ríos they killed the Apostle of our Independence. In a battle at Punta Brava they killed Antonio Maceo, a veteran of hundreds of battles. Countless leaders, countless patriots of our War of Independence were killed in similar battles. This, however, did not spell defeat for the Cuban cause.

The death of Che —as we said a few days ago— is a hard blow for the revolutionary movement in that it deprives it, without a doubt, of its most experienced and able leader.

But those who are boasting of victory are mistaken. They are mistaken when think that his death is the end of his ideas, the end of his tactics, the end of his guerrilla concepts, the end of his theories. For the man who fell, as a mortal man, as a man who faced bullets time and again, as a soldier, as a leader, is a thousand times more able than those who killed him, by a stroke of luck.

However, how must revolutionaries face this serious setback? How must we face this loss? If Che had to express an opinion on this point, what would it be? He gave his opinion, he expressed that opinion quite clearly when he wrote in his Message to the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that, if death surprised him anywhere, it would be welcome as long as his battle cry had reached a receptive ear and another hand stretched out to take up his rifle.

And his battle cry will reach not just one receptive

ear, but millions of receptive ears. And not one hand but millions of hands will stretch out to take up arms.

New leaders will emerge. And the men —of receptive ear and outstretched hand— will need leaders who emerge from the ranks of the people, just as leaders have emerged in all revolutions.

Those hands will not have available a leader of Che's extraordinary experience and enormous ability. Those leaders will be formed in the process of struggle; those leaders will emerge from among the millions of receptive ears, from the millions of hand that will sooner or later stretch out to take up arms.

It is not that we feel that his death will necessarily have immediate repercussions in the practical sphere of revolutionary struggle, that his death will necessarily have inmediate repercussions in the practical sphere of development of the struggle. The fact is that when Che took up arms again he was not thinking of an immediate victory; he was not thinking of a speedy victory against the forces of the oligarchies and of imperialism. As an experienced fighter, he was prepared for a prolonged struggle of five, ten, fifteen of twenty years if necessary. He was ready to fight for five, ten, fifteen, twenty years, or all his life if need be.

And within this time perspective his death —or rather his example— will have tremendous repercussions. The force of that example will be invincible.

Those who cling to the idea of luck try in vain to deny his experience and his capacity as a leader. Che was an extraordinarily able military leader. But when we remember Che, when we think of Che, we do not think fundamentally of his military virtues. No! Warfare is a means and not an end; warfare is a tool of revolutionaries. The important thing is the revolution; the important thing is the revolutionary cause, revolutionary ideas, revolutionary objectives, revolutionary sentiments, revolutionary virtues.

And it is in that field, in the field of ideas, in the field of sentiments, in the field of revolutionary virtues, in the field of intelligence —apart from his military virtues— that we feel the tremendous loss his death means for the revolutionary movement.

Because Che's extraordinary personality comprised virtues which are rarely found together. He stood

out as an incomparable man of action, but Che was not only that; he was a man of visionary intelligence and broad culture, a profound thinker. That is, in his person the man of ideas and the man of action were combined.

But it is not only that Che possessed the double characteristic of the man of ideas —of profound ideas— and the man of action, but that Che as a revolutionary united in himself the virtues which can be defined as the fullest expression of the virtues of a revolutionary: a man of complete integrity; a man of supreme sense of honor, of absolute sincerity; a man of stoic and Spartan living habits; a man in whose conduct not one stain can be found. He constituted, through his virtues, what can be called a truly model revolutionary.

When men die it is usual to make speeches, to emphasize their virtues, but rarely can one say of a man, with greater justice, with greater accuracy, what we say of Che: that he was a pure example of revolutionary virtues.

But he possessed another quality, not a quality of the intellect nor of the will, not a quality derived from experience, from struggle, but a quality of the heart: he was an extraordinarily human man, a man of extraordinary sensitivity.

That is why we say, when we think of his life, that he constituted the singular case of a most extraordinary man, able to unite in his personality not only the characteristics of the man of action but of the man of thought, of the man of immaculate revolutionary virtues and of extraordinary human sensibility, joined with an iron character, a will of steel, indomitable tenacity.

And because of this, he has left future generations not only his experience, his knowledge as an outstanding soldier, but also, at the same time, the fruits of his intelligence. He wrote with the consummate skill of a master of our language. His narratives of the war are incomparable. The depth of his thinking is impressive. He never wrote about anything with less than extraordinary seriousness, with less than the greatest depth; and we have no doubt that some of his writings will pass to posterity as classic documents of revolutionary thought.

And thus, as fruits of that vigorous and profound intelligence, he left us an infinity of memories, an infinity of narratives that, without his work, without his efforts, might have been lost forever.

An indefatigable worker, during the years that he served our country he did not know a single day of rest. Many were the responsibilities assigned to him: as President of the National Bank, as Director of the National Planning Board, as Minister of Industries, as commander of military regions, as the head of political or economic or fraternal delegations.

His versatile intelligence was able to undertake with maximum assurance any task of any kind. And thus he brilliantly represented our country in numerous international conferences, just as he brilliantly led soldiers in combat, just as he was model worker in soldiers in combat, just as he was model worker in charge of any of the organizations to which he was assigned, and for him there were no days of rest, for him there were no hours of rest. And if we looked through the windows of his offices we would see he had the lights on until all hours of the night, studying —or rather, working or studying. For he was a student of all problems, he was a tireless reader. His thirst for learning was practically insatiable and the hours he stole from sleep he devoted to study.

He devoted his scheduled days off to voluntary work. He was the inspiration and provided the greatest incentive for that work which is today carried out by hundreds of thousands of persons throughout the country; he stimulated that activity in which our people are making greater and greater efforts.

And, as a revolutionary, as a communist revolutionary, a true communist, he had a boundless faith in moral values, he had a boundless faith in the conscience of man. And we should say that he saw, with absolute clarity, moral resources as the fundamental lever in the construction of communism in human society.

He thought, worked out and wrote many things. And it is fitting to bring out, on a day like today, that Che's writings, Che's political and revolutionary thinking, will be of permanent value in the Cuban revolutionary process and in the Latin American revolutionary process. And we do not doubt that his ideas, as a man of action, as a man of thought, as a man of untarnished moral, as a man of unexcelled human sensitivity, as a man of stainless conduct have, and will continue to have, universal value.

The imperialists boast of their triumph at having killed this guerrilla fighter in action; the im-

perialists boast of a triumphant stroke of luck that led to the elimination of such a splendid man of action. But perhaps the imperialists do not know, or pretend not to know, that the man of action was only one of the many facets of the personality of that combatant. And if we speak of sorrow, we are saddened not only at having lost a man of action, we are saddened at having lost a morally superior man, we are saddened at having lost a man of exquisite human sensitivity, we are saddened at having lost such a mind. We are saddened to think that he was only 39 years old at the time of his death.

We are saddened to lose the further fruit that we would have received of that intelligence and that ever richer experience.

We have an idea of the magnitude of the loss for the revolutionary movement. But, nevertheless, here is the weak side of the imperialist enemy; they think that by eliminating a man physically they have eliminated his thinking; that by eliminating him physically they have eliminated his ideas, eliminated his virtues, eliminated his example. And so shameless are they in this belief that they have no hesitation in publishing, as if it were the most natural thing in the world, the by now almost universally accepted circumstances in which they murdered him after he had been seriously wounded in action. They do not even seem to be aware of the repulsiveness of the procedure. They do not even seem to be aware of the shamelessness of the admission. They have published it as if thugs, oligarchs and mercenaries had the right to shoot a seriously-wounded revolutionary prisoner.

And, even worse, they explain why they did it. They assert that Che's trial would have been earthshaking, that it would have been impossible to place this revolutionary in the dock.

Nor have they hesitated to spirit away his remains. And, be it true or false, they certainly announced they had cremated his body, thus beginning to show their fear, beginning to show that they are not so sure that by physically eliminating the combatant they can liquidate his ideas or liquidate his example.

Che fell defending the interests, defending the cause of the exploited and the oppressed peoples of this continent. Che fell defending the cause of the poor and disenfranchised of this earth. The exemplary manner and the selflessness with which he defended that cause cannot be disputed by even his most bitter enemies.

And, before history, men who act as he did, men who do all and give all for the cause of the oppressed, grow in stature with each passing day and find a deeper place in the hearts of the people with each passing day.

The imperialist enemies are beginning to see this, and it will not be long before it will be proved that his death will, in the long run, be like a germ which will give rise to many men determined to imitate him, many men determined to follow his example.

And we are absolutely convinced that the revolutionary cause on this continent will recover from the blow, that the revolutionary movement on this continent will not be crushed by this blow.

From the revolutionary point of view of our people, how must we view Che's example?

Do we feel we have lost him? It is true that we will not see new writings of his, true that we will never again hear his voice. But Che has left a heritage to the world, a great heritage, and we who knew him so well can become in great degree his beneficiaries.

He left us his revolutionary thinking, his revolutionary virtues; he left us his character, his will, his tenacity, his spirit of work. In a word, he left us his examples. And Che's example will be a model for our people; Che's example will be the ideal model for our people.

If we wish to express what we expect our revolutionary combatants, our militants, our men to be, we must say, without hesitation: "Let them be like Che!" If we wish to express what we want the men of future generations to be, we must say: "Let them be like Che!" If we wish to say how we want our children to be educated, we must say without hesitation: "We want them to be educated in Che's spirit!" If we want the model of a man, the model of a man who does not belong to our time, the model of a man who belongs to the future, I say from the depths of my heart that such a model, without a single stain on his conduct, without a single stain on his actions, is Che! If we wish to express what we want our children to be, we must say from our very hearts as ardent revolutionaries: "We want them to be like Che!"

Che has become a model of what men should be, not only for our people but also for people everywhere in Latin America. Che carried to its highest expression revolutionary stoicism, the revolutionary spirit

of sacrifice, revolutionary combativeness, the revolutionary's spirit of work. Che brought the ideas of Marxism-Leninism to their freshest, purest, most revolutionary expression. No other man of our time has carried the spirit of proletarian internationalism to its highest possible level, as Che did.

And in the future when an example of a proletarian internationalist is spoken of, when an example of a proletarian internationalist is sought, that example, high above any other, will be Che's example. National flags, prejudices, chauvinism and egoism had disappeared from his mind and heart. And he was ready to shed his blood spontaneously and immediately, in behalf of any people, for the cause of any people.

And thus, his blood fell on our soil when he was wounded in several battles; and his blood was shed in Bolivia, for the redemption of the exploited and the oppressed. That blood was shed for the sake of all the exploited and all the oppressed; that blood was shed for all the peoples of America and for the people of Viet-Nam, because while fighting there in Bolivia, fighting against the oligarchies and imperialism, he knew that he was offering Viet-Nam the highest possible expression of his solidarity.

It is for this reason, comrades of the Revolution, that we must face the future with optimism. And in Che's example we will always find inspiration, inspiration in struggle, inspiration in tenacity, inspiration in intransigence toward the enemy, inspiration in internationalist sentiment.

Therefore, after tonight's impressive ceremony, after this vast, incredible demonstration of recognition — incredible for its magnitude, discipline and spirit of devotion, that shows that this is a sensitive, grateful people who know how to honor the memory of the brave who die in combat and to recognize those who serve them, that demonstrates the people's solidarity with the revolutionary struggle and how this people will raise aloft and keep ever higher aloft their revolutionary banners and revolutionary principles — in these moments of remembrance let us lift our spirits optimistically to the future, with absolute confidence in the final victory of the peoples, and say to Che and to the heroes who fought and died with him:

EVER ONWARD TO VICTORY!

HOMELAND OR DEATH!

WE WILL WIN!

THE OSPAAAL DECLARATION

The 8th of October: Tricontinental Day of the Heroic Guerrilla

On April 16, 1967, the world was stirred by the historic message of Major Ernesto Che Guevara, sent to the people of the world through the Tricontinental.

From the guerrilla front he replied, by his very presence in combat, to the campaign of the reactionary press which tried to use his intentional disappearance to slander the Cuban Revolution.

Six months have elapsed and the death of the heroic Major at the head of the Bolivian National Liberation Army has once again stirred the world to its depths. As revolutionaries we pay heartfelt homage to the martyr of the liberation struggle of the exploited and oppressed masses.

Major Ernesto Che Guevara illuminated the road which must now be followed by the underdeveloped peoples. His thinking is revealed in his writing, his speeches, his contributions to seminars and international events and at every rostrum where his voice could be raised to condemn the misery and poverty, the oppression and exploitation to which these peoples have been subjected by imperialism — especially the imperialism of the United States of America.

His preoccupation with the destiny of Africa and Asia lead him to study, to travel, to consult and to exchange points of view with the foremost revolutionaries of the Afro-Asian movements. Thus, in February 1965, in the city of Algiers, he met El Mehdi Ben Barka and discussed with him the necessity of improving Afro-Asian solidarity, of enlarging it to include the peoples of Latin America, as well as the importance of holding the First Conference of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America — the Tricontinental — which was held a few months later in the city of Havana.

Che made known his unshakable faith in the guerrilla armed struggle, in the need to fight against the oppression of the dominant classes by organizing people's armed forces capable of defeating the enemy on the different fronts and in this manner harassing the entire imperialist apparatus and hastening its destruction. His thoughts and actions were dedicated to revolutionary tasks and to proclaiming the need to take action against

imperialism. He was convinced that each people, each man, each revolutionary should make whatever sacrifice was necessary for national liberation.

His complete understanding of the anti-imperialist struggle and his consistent revolutionary attitude led him to new fields of struggle. His internationalist spirit would have made it possible for him to shed his blood on any battlefield, whether in Africa, in Asia, or in Latin America. His struggle was directed against the great enemy of humanity, U.S. imperialism, the champion of those forces which oppress the peoples, pillage their wealth and make a sheer misery of their very existence. He believed in the universality of revolutionary thought and fought for the creation of truly internationalist armies.

He expressed the highest praise for the heroic example of Viet-Nam, describing it as the maximun expression of the anti-imperialist struggle, pointing out that the aggression against Laos and Cambodia, the occupation of a part of Korean territory, and Japan's aggressiveness have turned this part of the world into a volcano which may erupt at any time provoking a conflict of worldwide dimensions such as that which threatened recently in the Middle East, a development which Che foresaw in his message.

He condemned the racist minority regimes of Africa which brutally oppress their peoples, he called attention to the existence of neo-colonialism as a part of imperialist policy in this continent, and likewise condemned the continuation of the colonial system, remarking that the situation which had developed in the Congo as a result of Patrice Lumumba's murder was a clarion call to battle for the conquest of complete independence.

He devoted special attention to the peoples of Latin America, where the subservience of the puppet governments to U.S. interests has converted these so-called republics into veritable colonies subject to a total economic, ideological, cultural and military penetration which forestalls any possibility of development. He called relentlessly for simultaneous revolutionary struggle on a continental scale in order to oppose the brutal domination by imperialism and to smash its means of sustenance in each of these countries.

The oligarchic and pro-imperialist government of Bolivia has announced his death. Mercenary soldiers, prepared, trained and advised by Yankee agents and armed with Yankee weapons, took the life of the heroic major. Having been seriously wounded, he was finally killed by a bullet through the heart, and his remains were carefully hidden. Later, the cremation of his body was announced, as though by doing away with his ashes they could erase his immortal example and prevent it from becoming ever more glorious. Guided by this same purpose, the murderers of Patrice Lumumba and Ben Barka destroyed their bodies, burning the remains in a

smelting furnace in Katanga and in a furnace in Paris.

The Bolivian oligarchic military dictatorship, having at its disposal the technical and military resources of Yankee imperialism, has succeeded by a stroke of luck in physically eliminating Major Ernesto Che Guevara. The nucleus of the army organized by Che will augment its forces, demand retribution for this crime and avenge his death. The workers, the peasants and the entire population will continue to promote the guerrilla war and Bolivia shall be free.

The Green Berets, the Rangers and the Yankee advisers will taste defeat, and victory will crown the efforts of the people, who are prepared, at the price of their lives, to fight heroically until a final victory is won.

U.S. imperialism and its lackeys, with their savage methods of oppressing the people, compel them to take up the revolutionary struggle with its inevitable necessity to fight their enemies, to strike and harass them unceasingly, never giving them a moment's rest, forcing them to disperse and to fight on unfavorable ground. The guerrillas' numbers will increase and the armies of fighters will gain in experience day by day; they will grow stronger and will become more implacable towards the imperialist oppressor. Hatred will become more intense and there will be a struggle to the death.

Che urged the people to attack unceasingly on every front, to assault imperialism in a worldwide confrontation with the peoples who, unafraid of war, will wear away and destroy the enemy's sources of supply in the struggle for national liberation and develop a truly internationalist solidarity.

Armed struggle is the road that the peoples will follow to liberate themselves from the rapacious exploitation of imperialism, which has indulged in crime on an international scale and has blackmailed humanity with the threat of world war. Imperialism uses obsolete and archaic international instruments such as the OAS and such discredited or innocuous organizations as the UN and the OAU in attempts to achieve its objectives of domination and expansion, arrogating to itself the right to attack, to intervene, to invade and to murder whenever convenient. Imperialism exercises domination at the point of its bayonets, with its tanks and its air and naval forces, with its napalm and bacteriological warfare. Its oppression and savagery will day by day create a greater unity of the peoples. We must not harbour any illusions on the basis of mere words — imperialism attacks and the reply must be none other than an unyielding fight to the death that will force it to struggle and to disperse its forces for the continuous confrontation on many fronts. The only possibility of attaining victory is to further the

struggle and "to create two, three, many Viet-Nams."

Major Ernesto Che Guevara by his example enhances the cause of revolution and inspires revolutionary peoples to carry on their fight. His heroism, selflessness, firmness and sacrifice will encourage others to take up weapons and continue the struggle for liberation.

As Major Fidel Castro said in the solemn ceremony held in Havana: "We will always seek inspiration in Che's example, inspiration in his fighting spirit, in his tenacity, in his uncompromising stand before the enemy, and inspiration in his internationalist sentiments."

The magnitude of this action reaches far beyond the country for which he sacrificed his life, it projects beyond the confines of Latin America and extends to all the oppressed peoples of the world. His revolutionary integrity, his ideological firmness in the struggle against imperialism and as a combatant have made of him an example and a guide for the cause of world revolution.

The Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America has resolved to establish the 8th of October, the date of Che Guevara's death, as the Tricontinental Day of the Heroic Guerrilla Fighter. Widespread dissemination and recognition of his work, his thought and his actions will serve all revolutionaries in every corner of the world in their struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neocolonialism.

Victory and a glorious future will develop from this direct confrontation with imperialism. Hands will reach out in increasing numbers to take up weapons in victorious combat. New battlefields will be established and the peoples, in the face of oppression and misery, will become increasingly more resolute. "Two, three, many Viet-Nams" will be created and the redemption of all the peoples will be closer at hand.

The irreparable loss of the heroic and glorious Major Ernesto Che Guevara to the revolutionary movement compels all revolutionary fighters throughout the world, and all the peoples, to redouble their efforts and their struggles against imperialist oppression.

The OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat calls on the peoples of Africa, Asia, Latin America, and of the entire world, to render homage to Major Ernesto Che Guevara and to the combatants who fell with him by intoning their dirges with the sound of machine guns in battle and new cries of "Victory!"

The Executive Secretariat
of OSPAAAL

Havana, October 28, 1967

"This great humanity has said: Enough!' and has started to move forward."

ERNESTO CHE GUEVARA

ALGERIA: OIL AGAINST AGGRESSION

Official text of the decrees for the nationalization of oil in Algeria

The Algerian Government has nationalized the Esso and Mobil Oil Companies, which owned important assets in the country, at the moment when signs of drastic differences could be observed at the summit conference of the Arab State leaders held in Khartoum. The question of oil delivery to the U.S. and other Western States played a preponderant part in the conference's discussions.

By this decision, the Algerian Government reaffirmed its position on the Middle East conflict. To make this measure effective two decrees were published in the *Journal Officiel de la République* dated the 24th of August and signed by Colonel Houari Boumedienne, President of the Government and of the Council of the Revolution. The first of the decrees establishes the nationalization of Esso-Standard Algérie, Esso Africa, Esso Saharienne, Mobil Oil Nord-Africaine and Mobil Oil Française, the last two companies for refining and distributing hydrocarbons and derivatives. In Algeria, Esso occupied third place in the sales to the public of gasoline, oil and other derivatives, after Total (French) and B.P. (English). The Mobil Oil Co. owned an important part of the ultramodern Raffinerie d'Alger, considered one of Africa's most important.

All nationalized assets, including licenses to prospect, transportation permits and refineries, as well as assets of affiliate companies or businesses under the name of Esso, became full property of the Algerian State through the national company of hydrocarbons, the SONATRACH. The same dispositions apply to the powerful Mobil Oil Co., which, with its transportation operations, owned a great number of filling stations all over the country.

The decrees foresee the possibility of paying indemnity to Esso and Mobil Oil, but observers believe these paragraphs to be mainly formal, inasmuch as the specification of the sum to be paid to the Americans is left for a "later date."

2 DECREES NATIONALIZING OIL IN ALGERIA

REGULATION No. 67-164 of the 24th of August 1967 on the nationalization of the companies ESSO-STANDARD ALGERIE, ESSO AFRICA, ESSO SAHARIENNE, of assets, installations, actions, rights and interests of the affiliate companies or businesses known under the trade name, the initials, the partial or total denomination of ESSO.

The leader of the Government, the President of the Council of Ministers, on the report of the Minister of Industry and Energy, Regulation No. 65-182 of the 10th of July 1965, listed in the Constitution of the Government;

Taking into consideration the decisions adopted by the Council of Ministers at its extraordinary session of the 5th of June 1967;

Decrees:

Article I.—Nationalized, at the date of publication of the present regulation in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria:

1.—Companies: ESSO-STANDARD ALGERIE, whose headquarters are at 11 BD. Victor Hugo, Algiers (Algeria);

—ESSO-AFRICA, whose headquarters are at 81 Route de l'Aire, Geneva, (Switzerland);

—ESSO-SAHARIENNE, whose headquarters are at 41 Avenue Georges V, Paris (France).

2.—All rights proceeding from all conventions, licenses to prospect, and transportation permits of hydrocarbons as well as agreements or authorizations concerning the refining and distribution of hydrocarbons held by all the companies, affiliate companies or businesses known under the trade name, the initials or the partial or total denomination of ESSO.

3.—Generally, the assets, installations, actions, rights and interests of any kind held by all the companies, affiliate companies, businesses known under the trade name, the initials, the partial or total denomination of ESSO.

Article II.—A descriptive inventory and estimation of the nationalized assets, installations, actions, rights and interests will be drawn up for a period that will be determined later in accordance with Article I above, particulars to be fixed by decree as the need arises.

Article III.—The nationalization resulting from the present Regulation will give rights to an indemnity at the cost of the State, forms and payment of which will be fixed by decree as the need arises.

Article IV.—The present Regulation will be published in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria, issued in Algiers, the 24th of August 1967.

Houari Boumedienne

REGULATION No. 67-165 of the 24th of August 1967 on the nationalization of the refining and distribution of hydrocarbons and derivatives, of the assets, installations, actions, rights and interests of any kind of companies, affiliate companies or businesses known under the trade name, the initials or the denomination of MOBIL.

The leader of the Government, the President of the Council of Ministers, on the report of the Minister of Industry and Energy, Regulation No. 65-182 of the 10th of July 1965, listed in the Constitution of the Government;

Taking into consideration the decisions adopted by the Council of Ministers at its extraordinary session of the 5th of June 1967;

Decrees:

Article I.—Nationalized, concerning the refining and distribution of hydrocarbons and derivatives, at the date of publication of the present Regulation in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL of the People's Democratic Republic of Algeria:

1.—The assets, installations, actions, rights and interests of any kind representing the holdings of the companies:

—MOBIL OIL NORD-AFRICAINE, whose headquarters are at 29 rue Didouche Mourad, Algiers (Algeria);

—MOBIL OIL FRANÇAISE, whose headquarters are at 46 rue de Courcelle, Paris VIIIe (France).

2.—Generally, the assets, installations, actions, rights and interests of any kind held by all the companies, affiliate companies or businesses known under the trade name, the initials, the partial or total denomination of MOBIL, concerning the refining and distribution of hydrocarbons and derivatives.

Article II.—A descriptive inventory and estimation of the nationalized assets, installations, actions, rights and interests will be drawn up for a period that will be determined later in accordance with Article I above, particulars to be fixed by decree as the need arises.

Article III.—The nationalization resulting from the present Regulation will give right to an indemnity at the cost of the State, forms and payments of which will be fixed as the need arises by decree.

Article IV.—The present Regulation will be published in the JOURNAL OFFICIEL issued in Algiers, the 24th of August 1967.

Houari Boumedienne

VIET-NAM: STRATEGY AND TACTICS OF THE NFL

Political Program of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation

The political program of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation, adopted by the extraordinary congress held by the organization somewhere in Viet-Nam with the participation of 300 delegates, undoubtedly constitutes a historic document of great importance for the liberation movement of the three continents. For a whole week the delegates discussed and then approved this document, which contains the genuine aspirations of the South Vietnamese people, and the tactics and strategy to be followed in the struggle that the people and the Liberation Armed Forces wage in the military and political fields to attain the final victory over the U. S. imperialists and the puppet Saigon administration.

The program has been drawn up on the basis of the criteria and opinions of the population, the fighting guerrillas and the regular forces. It has been analyzed, discussed and enriched with the opinion of the masses. Its roots are in the people, whose aims and objectives it reflects, combining firmness of principle with flexibility in tactics. It consists of four sections.

1) TO UNITE ALL THE PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND TO SAVE THE COUNTRY; 2) TO CONSTRUCT AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, PACIFIC, NEUTRAL AND PROSPEROUS SOUTH VIET-NAM; 3) TO RESUME NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIET-NAM AND MARCH TOWARD THE PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE HOMELAND;

AND 4) TO IMPLEMENT A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY. It is not an abstract program, as it consists of clear points of view on very specific questions that go from agrarian and economic policies to matters relative to culture and education, from social assistance to respect for religious freedom.

There are substantial differences between the situation of South Viet-Nam in 1960, when the Front was constituted and a 10-point program adopted, and the present situation now in 1967. In 1960, the struggle was mainly waged against U. S. imperialism, Ngo Dinh Diem's regime and his puppet army. But the U. S. forces acting as "advisers" consisted then of only 3,000 men. The first attacks of the liberation forces were sufficient to break down Diem's apparatus. Qualitative changes then took place in the fighting process. At present, U. S. troops in South Viet-Nam amount to nearly half a million, while the puppets in South Korea, Thailand, the Philippines, Australia, etc. number more than 56,000. For the South Vietnamese people as a whole, this is a war of liberation against the invaders. For the Americans, it is a colonial war right in the 20th century. Subsequent and resulting factors materialize in response to the unity of all the sectors of the population. The expulsion of the invader, who has come to trample on their soil, becomes the watchword.

On the other hand, the National Front for Liberation at present controls 4/5 of the South Vietnamese territory, which includes 2/3 of the

population. These facts suffice to give an idea of the qualitative differences which determine the birth of this new program.

It is not too soon to declare that the government ranks will crumble even more, as will the puppet army, where an average of 10,000 desertions take place monthly. New events will derive from the implementation of this program in Viet-Nam.

No one can ignore the fact that the liberation war in South Viet-Nam constitutes the cornerstone of the revolutionary concept of struggle in the three continents. It is not only the fate of the Vietnamese people that is being decided there; it is the fate of other peoples, of all humanity.

The Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL declared its total support for the political program of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation and published an appeal (September 23) to its members organizations of this historic document.

After mentioning the defeats sustained by the imperialists in the North as well as in the South of Viet-Nam, OSPAAAL pointed out that, in spite of all this, imperialism "is stepping up its aggressive actions against the Vietnamese people." The declaration also unmasks the false calls for "peace negotiations" formulated "with the intention of deceiving world public opinion, which each day expresses, in a more militant way, its solidarity with the Vietnamese combatants."

In 1960, the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation came into being with its 10-point Program aimed at uniting the entire people against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys.

Since then, the Front has achieved broad union of the various sections of the people, the political parties, organizations, nationalities, religious communities and patriotic personalities with a view to jointly fighting against U.S. aggression, for national salvation. It has suc-

cessfully consolidated its base among the broad masses of the people; at the same time, it has achieved joint action with many political and religious forces and won over many manufacturers and merchants, many officials and functionaries of the puppet administration and soldiers of the puppet army.

The Front has consistently enjoyed wholehearted encouragement and assistance from our compatriots in the North and abroad. It has also enjoyed ever stronger approval and support from the peoples of neighbouring Cambodia and Laos, from the peoples of the socialist camp, nationalist and other countries in the world, including progressive people in the United States.

Under the leadership of the N.F.L., our people in the South have gone from victory to victory. The prestige of the Front has been unceasingly enhanced at home and abroad. The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation has become the sole genuine representative of the heroic South Vietnamese people.

These great achievements have proved that the line and policy of the Front are correct, and that the strength of our people's unity and struggle is invincible.

At present, despite heavy defeats, the U. S. imperialists are still unwilling to give up their aggressive designs against Viet-Nam. They are stepping up the war, trampling upon the South, and intensifying the bombing of the North of our country. The monstrous crimes of the U. S. imperialists, however, have only served to deepen our people's hatred and strengthen their indomitable will. The people of South Viet-Nam, regardless of social standing, and even a number of persons in the puppet army and administration, have seen through the true features of the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys, hate them, and want to contribute to the struggle against U. S. aggression, for national salvation.

Never before in our nation's history has the mettle of our entire people united for the fight to wipe out the enemy and save the country been so strong as now. Our people are in a victorious position, have taken the initiative, and are on the offensive. The U.S. imperialists and their lackeys have been increasingly driven into passivity and embarrassment; they are at an impasse and are sustaining defeats.

At this juncture, and in order to effect the aforementioned Programme, the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation has worked out this Political Programme with a view to further broadening our great national union, encouraging and stimulating the entire people to push forward resolutely to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors, and to build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet-Nam.

SECTION ONE

UNITE THE ENTIRE PEOPLE, FIGHT THE U.S. AGGRESSORS, SAVE THE COUNTRY

1. Throughout four thousand years of history, the Vietnamese people have united and fought against foreign invasion to preserve their independence and freedom.

Ever since our country was conquered by the French colonialists, our people have fought unremittingly for their liberation. In 1945, our people from North to South rose up, successfully carried out the August Revolution, seized political power from the Japanese militarists and their lackeys, and founded the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam.

When the French colonialists returned to invade our country, our entire people heroically fought for nearly nine years, culminating our sacred resistance at the great victory of Dien Bien Phu, and smashing the aggressive schemes of the French colonialists and the interventionist policy of the U. S. imperialists.

The independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam were formally recognized by the 1954 Geneva Conference. Since then, our compatriots in South Viet-Nam together with the people all over the country, should have been living in peace and building a free and happy life. However, the U. S. imperialists have sabotaged the Geneva Agreements, ousted the French colonialists, set up in South Viet-Nam an extremely brutal puppet regime, and tried to turn the southern part of Viet-Nam into a neocolony and military base in an attempt to prolong partition of our country, conquer the whole of Viet-Nam and impose their domination throughout Indo-China and South East Asia.

The U. S. imperialists have stopped at nothing to carry out their sinister designs. Defeated in their "special war," they have switched to a "local war," using over half a million U.S. and satellite troops, and more than half a million puppet soldiers, in aggression against South Viet-Nam; at the same time, they have undertaken a war of destruction against the northern part of our country. They have also stepped up their "special war" in Laos and carried out continual provocations aimed at wrecking the independence and neutrality of Cambodia.

The U. S. imperialists are daily causing untold suffering and mourning to our compatriots throughout the country. They have resorted to all kinds of modern instruments of war, including strategic aircraft, napalm bombs, toxic chemicals and poison gas to massacre our fellow countrymen. They have launched repeated operations, repeatedly "combing" many areas, carrying out the "kill all,

burn all, destroy all" policy of "razing villages and hamlets" to the ground. They have grabbed land, and set up "no man's land" and fascist-type concentration camps dubbed "strategic hamlets," "prosperity zones," "resettlement areas", etc., into which they have herded the population. In the North, they have wantonly bombed and strafed streets, villages, industrial centres, heavily populated areas; they have even struck at dikes, schools, hospitals, churches, pagodas.

Obviously the U. S. imperialists are the most ruthless aggressors in history, the saboteurs of the 1954 Geneva Agreements, the wreckers of the peace and security of the peoples of Indo-China, South East Asia and the world, enemy number one of our people and of mankind.

Over the past few years, the U. S. imperialists have continually escalated the war, yet they have unceasingly clamored about "peace negotiations" in an attempt to fool the people of the USA and the world.

The Saigon puppet administration has sold out South Viet-Nam to the U. S. imperialists. It has oppressed and exploited our southern compatriots in an extremely ruthless way. It has forced South Vietnamese youths into the army to serve the U. S. in the massacre of our fellow countrymen. In a demagogic bid it has also staged the farce of "working out a constitution" and "holding elections." It is only a clique of traitors, an instrument for the U. S. imperialists to enslave the South Vietnamese people, prolong the partition of our country and further the U. S. war of aggression.

2. The U. S. aggressors and their lackeys think they can intimidate our people by the use of force, and deceive them by means of tricks. But they are grossly mistaken. Our people definitely will never submit to force, never let themselves be deceived!

Bringing into play our nation's tradition of undauntedness, our 31 million compatriots from the south to the north have stood firm, united as one man to fight the U. S. aggressors and save the country.

In the front line of the Homeland, our southern fellowcountrymen have over the past thirteen years shown marvellous heroïsm. Irrespective of age, sex, political tendencies, religious beliefs, and regardless of whether they live in the plains or in mountain areas, our people of all strata, all nationalities have fought resolutely shoulder to shoulder to liberate the South, defend the North, and proceed with reunification of the Homeland.

Since 1959-1960, our compa-

triots in the South Vietnamese countryside have carried out "simultaneous uprisings," destroyed a series of concentration camps and "prosperity zones" of the U. S. imperialists and the puppet administration, and liberated vast rural areas.

Our armed forces and people then rushed forward, destroyed thousands of "strategic hamlets," liberated millions of people, and defeated the U.S. "special war."

Since 1965, although the U. S. aggressors have brought in hundreds of thousands of U. S. expeditionary troops for direct aggression against South Viet-Nam, our armed forces and people have repeatedly won big victories, smashed two successive U. S. dry-season strategic counteroffensives, defeated over one million enemy troops (U.S., puppet and satellite). The liberated areas have continuously expanded and now comprise four-fifths of South Vietnamese territory with two-thirds of its population. In these liberated areas, a national and democratic power is taking shape and a new life is blossoming. In addition to big military victories, we have also recorded important successes in the political, economic, cultural and diplomatic fields.

In the beloved northern part of the Homeland, our 17 million compatriots are heroically defeating the U. S. imperialists' war of destruction, maintaining and boosting production, wholeheartedly encouraging and helping the cause of liberating the South, thus fulfilling the obligations of the rear guard toward the vanguard.

Throughout the world the peoples of the socialist, nationalist and other countries, including the progressive people of the United States, are sternly condemning the U. S. imperialist war of aggression, and are giving their approval, support and assistance to our people's struggle against U. S. aggression and for national salvation.

Facts have clearly shown that the more the U. S. imperialists obdurately intensify and expand their war of aggression against our country, the more they sustain bitter defeats and are isolated while, on the other hand, our people win greater victories and gain more friends.

3. The most dangerous enemies of our people at present are the U.S. imperialist aggressors and their lackeys —the traitorous puppet administration.

The present tasks and objectives of the South Vietnamese people in the struggle for national salvation are: to unite the entire people, resolutely defeat the U.S. imperialist war of aggression, overthrow their lackey puppet administration, establish a broad national democratic coalition administration, build

an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet-Nam, and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the Homeland.

The force that guarantees the fulfilment of the above task of fighting against U.S. aggression to save the country is our great national union. The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation consistently stands for uniting all social strata and classes, all nationalities, all political parties, all organizations, all religious communities, all patriotic personalities, all individuals and all patriotic and progressive forces, regardless of political tendencies, in order to struggle together against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, regain our sacred national rights, and develop the country.

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation is willing to invite and welcome all patriotic forces and individuals who oppose the U.S. aggressors to join its ranks, and to share the common duties. It proposes that any force which, for one reason or another, does not adhere to its ranks, take joint action against the common enemy, the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys.

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to strive, shoulder to shoulder with the Viet-Nam Homeland Front to gloriously fulfill the common task of fighting against U.S. aggression, to liberate the South, defend the North and proceed toward the peaceful reunification of the Homeland.

While fighting for their sacred national rights, the people of South Viet-Nam actively comply with their internationalist duty. Their resistance against U.S. aggression is an integral part of the revolutionary struggle of the people all over the world.

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation is undertaking to stand within the united bloc of the Indo-Chinese peoples to fight against the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, to defend the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of Viet-Nam, Cambodia and Laos.

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation pledges to take an active part in the common struggle of the peoples of the world against the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U. S. imperialism, for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress.

4. The cruel U.S. aggressors are trampling upon our homeland. We, the people of South Viet-Nam, must rise up to make revolution and wage a people's war with a view to annihilating them, driving them out of our

land, and regaining national independence and sovereignty.

Having experienced over 20 years of war, our southern compatriots are anxious to live in peace and rebuild our war-devastated country. But the U.S. imperialists have been destroying this legitimate aspiration. That is why our people have to fight against them to win peace in independence. Nothing is more precious than independence and f r e e d o m. Only when real independence is secured can we have genuine peace!

The enemy of our nation is ruthless and obdurate. But our entire people are determined to fight and to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys. So long as the U.S. imperialists do not end their war of aggression, withdraw all U.S. and satellite troops from our country, and let the South Vietnamese people settle the internal affairs of South Viet-Nam without foreign interference, our people will resolutely fight on until complete victory is achieved. The South Vietnamese people's liberation war is a long and hard one, but it is sure to end in victory.

Our people rely mainly on their own forces, but at the same time, they strive to win the sympathy, support and assistance of the world's peoples.

To defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, our people do not avoid any sacrifice, they enthusiastically contribute manpower, material resources and their abilities to the national liberation struggle in the spirit of doing everything for the Front, everything for victory.

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation has undertaken to develop the liberation armed forces comprising the main force units, the regional troops and the militia and guerrilla units, with the aim of promoting a people's war, combining guerrilla with regular warfare, wiping out as many enemy troops as possible, crushing the enemy's will for aggression, and winning final victory.

The Front has undertaken to build and develop the political forces of the masses, promote the movement of national struggle, combine armed struggle with political struggle and agitation among enemy troops, thus forming three converging prongs to defeat the enemy.

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation has undertaken to encourage all strata of the population in the towns and rural areas still under enemy control to unite and struggle in every possible form to break the grip of the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, destroy the "phuong" (districts) and "strategic hamlets," demand democratic freedoms, national sovereignty, and a

better life, oppose the press-ganging of troops and forced labour draft, struggle against the enslaving and corrupting of our culture, and march forward, together with the entire people, to overthrow the enemy's rule and seize political power.

At the same time, the Front undertakes to encourage all strata of people in the liberated areas to unite closely, to build the people's self-management system, to set up step by step a local national democratic administration; to build base areas; to strive to produce and fight against U.S. aggression and for national salvation; to continue solving the agrarian problem satisfactorily; to build the new economy and culture in the liberated areas; to assist the people's forces with a view to ensuring supplies for the front line and carrying the resistance of war through to complete victory.

SECTION TWO
BUILD AN INDEPENDENT, DEMOCRATIC, PEACEFUL, NEUTRAL AND PROSPEROUS SOUTH VIET-NAM

The people of South Viet-Nam are determined to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys, and to devote heart and soul to building a political system that guarantees the independence and sovereignty of the nation and the freedom and happiness of the people, to heal the wounds of war, to liquidate the social evils inherited from the U.S. puppet régime, to restore normal living and build an independent, democratic, peaceful, neutral and prosperous South Viet-Nam. To achieve these objectives, the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation lays down the following concrete policies:

1. TO SET UP A BROAD AND PROGRESSIVE DEMOCRATIC REGIME

To abolish the disguised colonial regime established by the U.S. imperialists in South Viet-Nam; to overthrow the puppet administration, hireling of the United States; not to recognize the puppet "national assembly" rigged by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys; to abolish the "constitution" and all anti-national and anti-democratic laws enacted by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration.

— To hold free general elections to elect the National Assembly in a truly democratic way in accordance with the principle of universal, equal, direct suffrage and secret ballot. This National Assembly will be the State body with the highest authority in South Viet-Nam; it will work out a democratic constitution which fully embodies the most fundamental and most longed-for aspirations of all social strata in South Viet-Nam and guarantee the establishment of a broad, progressive, democratic State structure. To guarantee the immunity of the deputies to the National Assembly.

—To set up a national union democratic government including the most representative persons among the various social strata, nationalities, religious communities, patriotic and democratic parties, patriotic personalities, and forces which have contributed to the cause of national liberation.

—To proclaim and enforce broad democratic freedoms: freedom of speech, freedom of the press and publication, freedom of assembly, trade union freedom, freedom of association, freedom to form political parties, freedom of creed, freedom of demonstration.

—To guarantee to all citizens inviolability of the human person, freedom of residence and lodging, secrecy of correspondence, freedom of movement, the right to work and rest, and the right to study.

—To enforce equality regardless of sex and equality of the various nationalities.

—To set free all persons imprisoned by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration for their patriotic activities.

—To dissolve all forms of concentration camps set up by the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys.

—To give all those people who have sought asylum abroad because of the U. S. puppet regime the right to return home to serve the country.

—To severely punish the die-hard, brutal agents of the U.S. imperialists.

2. TO BUILD AN INDEPENDENT AND SELF-SUPPORTING ECONOMY; TO IMPROVE THE PEOPLE'S LIVING CONDITIONS

To abolish the policy of economic enslavement and monopoly of the U. S. imperialists.

—To confiscate the property of the U.S. imperialists and their brutal die-hard agents and turn it into State property.

—To build an independent and self-supporting economy. To rapidly heal the wounds of war, to restore and develop the economy, raise the people's standard of living and make the country powerful.

—To protect the right to ownership of the means of production and other property of the citizens under the laws of the State.

—To restore and develop agricultural production. To improve agriculture and animal husbandry, and develop reforestation and the fishing industry. The State will encourage the peasants to unite and to help one another boost production; grant them loans at low interest for the purchase of buffaloes, oxen, farm implements, agricultural machines, seeds, fertilizers, etc.; help them develop irrigation works and apply advanced agricultural techniques.

—To guarantee outlets for agricultural products.

—To restore and develop industry, small industries and handicrafts.

—To guarantee to the workers and employees the right to take part in the management of enterprises. The State will encourage investment for the development of trade and industry, small industries and handicrafts.

—To encourage freedom of enterprise, stimulate national reconstruction and raise the people's standard of living; to apply a customs policy designed to promote and protect national production.

—To restore and develop communication and transportation.

—To encourage and step up economic exchanges between town and country, between the plains and the mountain areas.

—To give due consideration to the interests of small merchants and small manufacturers.

—To set up a State bank.

—To issue independent currency.

—To apply a fair and rational tax policy.

The State will adopt a policy of granting low interest loans to encourage production, and will prohibit usury.

—To develop economic relations with the North; the two zones will help each other so that Viet-Nam's economy may prosper rapidly.

—In accordance with the Front's policy of neutrality and on the principle of equality, mutual benefit and respect for the independence and sovereignty of the Vietnamese nation, foreign trade will be extended and economic and technical assistance from foreign countries will be accepted, regardless of political or social system.

3. TO ENACT THE LAND POLICY, UNDER THE SLOGAN: LAND TO THE TILLER

To confiscate the lands of the U. S. imperialists and cruel, die-hard landlords and their lackeys and to allot those lands to landless or land-poor peasants.

—To confirm and protect the ownership of the lands allotted by the Revolution to peasants.

—The State will negotiate the purchase of land from landlords who possess land upwards of a certain amount, varying with the situation in each locality; it will allot this land to landless or land-poor peasants. The recipients will receive the land free of charge and will not be bound by any conditions whatsoever. In areas where the required conditions for land reform do not yet exist, land-rent reduction will be applied.

—To entrust the land belonging to absentee landlords to peasants for cultivation and benefit of the producers. Adequate steps will be taken in this area at a later stage in accordance with the political attitude of each landlord.

—To allow landlords to offer land to the Peasants' Association for Liberation, or to the State. The Liberation Peasants' Association and the State will distribute that land to landless or land-poor peasants.

—To encourage the owners of industrial crops or fruit tree plantations to keep production going.

—To respect the legitimate right to land ownership of the churches, pagodas and shrines of religious sects.

—To carry out a fair and rational redistribution of communal lands.

—To guarantee the legitimate right to ownership of reclaimed lands by those who reclaim them.

—To guarantee freedom to those compatriots who have been forced into "strategic hamlets" or concentration camps in any other form to return to their former villages.

—Those who have been compelled to "evacuate" or to "change abodes" and who wish to go on living there, will enjoy recognition of their ownership of the lands and other property resulting from the fruit of their labour, and will be helped to continue earning their living in the same place; those who wish to return to their original community will also receive help.

4. **TO BUILD A NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CULTURE AND EDUCATIONAL SYSTEM; TO DEVELOP SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY; TO PROMOTE PUBLIC HEALTH**

To fight against the American-type enslavement and corruption of the cultural and educational systems now adversely affecting our people's fine, long-standing cultural traditions.

—To build a national democratic culture and educational system; to develop science and technology for national construction and defence.

—To educate the people in the Vietnamese tradition of struggle against foreign invasion and in its heroic history. To preserve and develop our nation's fine culture and traditions.

—To raise the people's cultural level; to liquidate illiteracy and promote complementary education; to open new general schools, vocational schools and centers of higher learning. To make an all-out effort to train and encourage scientific workers, technicians and skilled workers.

—To use the Vietnamese language in centers of higher education. To reduce school fees for students.

—To exempt students from poor families from payment of school fees or grant them scholarships.

To reform the system of examinations.

—To give all possible aid to the youth and children who have

rendered services in the fight against U. S. aggression and for national salvation, the children born into families that have rendered services to the Revolution, and other outstanding youths so as to enable them to study and develop their potentialities.

—To enable every citizen freely to carry out scientific and technological research, to participate in literary and artistic creation and other cultural activities. To encourage intellectuals, writers, artists and scientists and provide them with the required conditions for research and creative and inventive activity at the service of the Homeland and the people.

—To support those cultural workers, writers and artists who have been persecuted by the U. S. imperialists and their lackeys owing to their patriotic activities.

—To develop medical services and public health facilities. To attend to the people's health. To control epidemics, to do away with dangerous diseases inherited from the U. S. puppet regime.

—To develop the movement for physical culture and sports.

—To develop cultural relations with the North; the two zones will help each other to raise the people's educational level and develop talented people.

—To promote cultural relations with foreign countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit.

5. TO GUARANTEE THE INTERESTS OF FACTORY AND OFFICE WORKERS AND OTHER LABOURING PEOPLE AND SEE TO THEIR WELL-BEING

To promulgate labour legislation, to put into practice the 8-hour working day; to provide legislation for rest and recreation; to set up a rational system of wages and bonuses for increased productivity.

—To improve the living and working conditions of the workers, labourers and civil servants.

—To apply a policy of adequate remuneration for apprentices.

—To provide employment for farmers and urban workers; and do away with unemployment.

—To put into practice a policy of social security to care for and assist workers, labourers and civil servants in case of illness or disability, and provide old age or retirement benefits.

—To improve living conditions in working people's residential quarters.

—To settle disputes between employers and employees through negotiations between the two sides and mediation by the national democratic administration.

—To strictly prohibit the beating of workers and labourers; to strictly prohibit wage docking, fines and unjustified sacking of workers.

6. TO DEVELOP THE SOUTH VIETNAMESE LIBERATION ARMED FORCES WITH A VIEW TO LIBERATING THE PEOPLE AND DEFENDING THE HOMELAND

The South Viet-Nam Liberation Armed Forces (comprising the main forces units, the regional troops, and the militia and guerrilla units) are children of the people; they are completely loyal to the interests of the nation and the people, and duty-bound to fight shoulder to shoulder with the entire people to liberate the South, defend the country and make an active contribution to the defence of peace in Asia and the world.

—To pay due attention to the building of the Liberation Armed Forces. To strive to increase their knowledge and increase their fighting capacity with a view to stepping up the people's war, defeating the U. S., satellite and puppet troops, and bringing the fight against U. S. aggression for national salvation to total victory.

To strengthen political work, to stimulate the patriotism and determination to fight and to win of the Liberation Armed Forces; to raise the sense of discipline; to continuously strengthen the fish-as-to-water relationship between the Army and the population.

—Officers and men of the Liberation Armed Forces have the right to vote and to be elected, the right to land, and the same rights as any other citizen.

7. TO SHOW GRATITUDE TO THE MARTYRS, TO ATTEND TO DISABLED SOLDIERS, TO REWARD THE SOLDIERS AND CIVILIANS DISTINGUISHED IN THE FIGHT AGAINST U. S. AGGRESSION AND FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

The entire people are grateful to, and constantly bear in mind the memory of the martyrs who belonged to the Liberation Armed Forces or to various services and revolutionary organizations, and those who lost their lives in political struggles. Their families are attended to and assisted by the State and the people.

—To give care and assistance to soldiers and civilians disabled in the course of the armed and political struggle.

—To give deserved recompense to all soldiers and civilians distinguished in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

Families who have rendered services to the revolution will be remembered and helped.

8. TO ORGANIZE SOCIAL ASSISTANCE

To give assistance to all compatriots, victims of the war of aggression unleashed by the U. S. imperialists and the puppet regime.

—To provide for orphans, old folk and invalids. To organize relief for areas affected by natural calamities or bad crops.

—To give consideration also to disabled puppet soldiers and to needy and destitute families of puppet soldiers killed in action.

—To help those people driven to depravation by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, and help rehabilitate them so they may serve the Homeland and the people.

9. TO ESTABLISH EQUALITY OF MEN AND WOMEN; TO PROTECT MOTHERS AND CHILDREN

To pay the utmost attention to raising the political, cultural and vocational standard of women to fit their merits in the struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation. To develop the Vietnamese women's traditions of heroism, perseverance, fidelity and skill to shoulder every responsibility.

—Women are guaranteed political, economic, cultural and social equality.

—Women will receive equal salary and benefits for the same job, and enjoy the same rights as men.

—Women workers and civil servants will have a two months' maternity leave with full pay.

—To actively help, encourage and train women cadres.

—To promulgate progressive legislation regarding marriage and the family.

—To protect the rights of mothers and children. To develop a network of maternity homes, crèches and nursery schools.

—To stem all social scourges brought about by the U.S. imperialists and their lackeys, which are harmful to women's health and dignity.

10. TO STRENGTHEN UNITY; TO PRACTICE EQUALITY AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE AMONG NATIONALITIES

To abolish all systems and policies applied by the imperialists and their lackeys to divide, oppress and exploit the various nationalities. To oppose discrimination among and forcible assimilation of the nationalities.

—To develop the long-standing tradition of unity and mutual assistance among the various fraternal nationalities with a view to defending and developing the country. All nationalities have equal rights and obligations.

—To implement the agrarian policy with regard to minority peasants. To encourage and help them settle in permanent homes, to improve their lands, to develop economy and culture, to raise their living standard so that they can catch up with the general standard of the people.

—The national minorities have the right to use their own spoken and written languages, to develop their own culture and art; they

have the right to maintain or change their customs and habits.

—To strive to train minority cadres to enable the minorities to quickly develop conditions to manage their own local affairs.

—In the areas where the minorities are concentrated and the required conditions exist, autonomous zones will be established within independent and free Viet-Nam.

11. **TO RESPECT FREEDOM OF CREED, TO ACHIEVE UNITY AND EQUALITY AMONG THE DIFFERENT RELIGIOUS COMMUNITIES**

To fight against all manoeuvres and schemes of the imperialists and their lackeys who use the pretext of religion to oppose our people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation, sow dissension between believers and nonbelievers and among different religious communities and harm the country, the people and religion.

—To respect freedom of religion and worship. To preserve pagodas, churches, sanctuaries, temples.

—All religions are equal and are not subject to discrimination.

—To achieve unity among believers of various religions and between believers and the entire nation for the sake of the struggle against the U.S. aggressors and their lackeys to defend and develop the country.

12. **TO WELCOME PUPPET OFFICERS AND SOLDIERS AND PUPPET OFFICIALS BACK TO THE JUST CAUSE; TO SHOW LENIENCY AND GIVE HUMANE TREATMENT TO SOLDIERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR**

To oppose attempts by the U.S. imperialists and the puppet administration to press-gang mercenaries to serve the U.S. aggressors in their struggle against the country and in their massacre of the people.

—To severely punish the diehard thugs, efficient agents of the U.S. imperialists.

—To afford conditions for puppet officers and soldiers and puppet officials to come back to the just cause and join the people's fight against U.S. aggression to save and build up the country.

—Those individuals, groups or units of the puppet army and administration who have fought against U.S. aggression for national salvation will be rewarded and their position duly considered. We will remember those who sympathize with and support the struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation, or those who refuse to carry out orders of the U.S. and their puppets to harm the people.

—Those individuals, groups or units that have broken away from the puppet army and voluntarily apply to join the Liberation Armed

Forces to fight against the U.S. to save the country are welcome and will enjoy equal treatment.

Regarding those individuals or units that have broken away from the puppet army and administration and risen against the U.S. aggressors to save the country, the Front stands ready to join them in the fight against the U.S. aggressors, on a basis of equality, mutual respect and assistance to protect the people and liberate the Homeland.

—Those functionaries of the puppet administration who volunteer to serve the country and the people in the State apparatus after the liberation of South Viet-Nam will enjoy equal treatment.

—Those in the puppet army and puppet administration at any level who have committed crimes against the people but are now sincerely repentant will be pardoned. Those who redeem their crimes by meritorious deeds will be rewarded accordingly. Captured officers and soldiers of the puppet army will enjoy humanitarian treatment and leniency.

—Those in the U.S. Army and its satellite armies who cross over to the people's side will be given kind treatment and helped to return to their families when conditions permit.

—Captured U.S. and satellite troops will be treated as captured puppet troops.

13. TO PROTECT THE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF OVERSEAS VIETNAMESE

—To welcome the patriotism of overseas Vietnamese and highly value all their contributions to resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation of the people.

—To protect the rights and interests of overseas Vietnamese.

—To help those overseas Vietnamese who wish to return to the country to take part in national construction.

14. TO PROTECT THE LEGITIMATE RIGHTS AND INTERESTS OF FOREIGN RESIDENTS IN SOUTH VIET-NAM

—To welcome those foreign residents who have contributed to the Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

—All foreign residents living in South Viet-Nam must respect the independence and sovereignty of Viet-Nam and obey the laws of the national democratic administration.

—To protect the legitimate rights and interests of all foreign residents who have not cooperated with the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen in opposing the Vietnamese people and who have not harmed the independence and sovereignty of Viet-Nam. To give adequate consideration to the

rights and interests of those foreign residents who have directly or indirectly supported the Vietnamese people's resistance to U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

—To resolutely oppose and abolish all policies of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen aimed at dividing the Vietnamese people and Chinese residents in South Viet-Nam, exploiting and repressing Chinesee residents, and forcing them to adopt Vietnamese citizenship.

—To punish the die-hard agents and secret agents of the imperialists and the South Viet-Nam puppet administration.

SECTION THREE

TO RESTORE NORMAL RELATIONS BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH VIET-NAM; TO PROCEED TOWARD PEACEFUL REUNIFICATION OF THE HOMELAND

Viet-Nam is one, the Vietnamese people are one. No force can divide our Homeland. Reunification of the country is the sacred aspiration of our entire people. Viet-Nam must be reunified.

The policy of the South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation is as follows:

1. The reunification of Viet-Nam will be realized step by step by peaceful means on the principle of negotiation between the two zones without either side using pressure against the other and without foreign interference.

2. Pending reunification of the country, the people in both zones will make joint efforts to oppose foreign invasion and defend the Homeland, at the same time endeavoring to expand economic and cultural exchanges. The people in both zones are free to exchange letters, to go from one zone to another and to choose their place of residence.

SECTION FOUR

TO APPLY A FOREIGN POLICY OF PEACE AND NEUTRALITY

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation follows a foreign policy of peace and neutrality, a foreign policy which guarantees the independence, sovereignty, unity and territorial integrity of the country and helps safeguard world peace. In more concrete terms, this policy consists of the following points:

1. To establish diplomatic relations with all countries regardless of their social and political system, on the principle of mutual respect for each other's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, without infringing upon each other's territory, without interfering in each other's internal affairs, and based on equality, mutual benefits and peaceful coexistence.

To abolish all unequal treaties which the puppet administration has signed with the United States or any other country.

To respect the economic and cultural interests of those countries which sympathize with, support or assist the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

To accept technical and economic assistance from any country with no political conditions attached.

To join no military alliance; to permit no military personnel or foreign military base on South Vietnamese territory.

2. To strengthen the friendly relations with all countries which sympathize with, support or assist the Vietnamese people's struggle against U.S. aggression and for national salvation.

   To strengthen friendly relations with the neighboring countries of Cambodia and Laos. To unceasingly strengthen the solidarity and mutual assistance between the people of the Indo-Chinese countries, with a view to defending their respective independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity against the aggressive and bellicose policy of the U.S. imperialists and their henchmen.

3. To support actively the national liberation movement of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America against imperialism and old and new colonialism.

   To support actively the struggle of the North American people against the U.S. imperialists' war of aggression in Viet-Nam.

   To support actively the just struggle of black people in the United States for their fundamental national rights.

   To support actively the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress in all countries of the world.

4. To struggle actively to contribute to the safeguarding of world peace and oppose the bellicose and aggressive imperialists headed by U.S. imperialism. To demand dissolution of aggressive military blocs and foreign military bases of imperialism.

   To consolidate unceasingly and develop relations with international democratic organizations and the peoples of all countries including the North American people.

   To contribute actively to the consolidation and development of the world peoples' front in support of Viet-Nam against the U.S. imperialist aggressors for national independence and peace.

The struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation of our people is extremely hard but very glorious.

It concerns not only the destiny of our people at present and all our future generations but also the interests of the peoples in the world who are struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and social progress. In order to accomplish that glorious task, our people, already united, must unite still more closely and broadly!

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation warmly welcomes all political parties, mass organizations, patriotic and progressive personalities who rally round the Front to pool their efforts to defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen.

The struggle against U.S. aggression for national salvation of our people is a just cause. Our people throughout the country are of one mind to fight and defeat the U.S. aggressors and their henchmen. The sympathy, support and assistance of the peoples of the socialist countries, the Asian, African and Latin American countries and peace and justice-loving people all over the world, including the progressive people in the United States, is becoming deeper and stronger day by day. We are winning and will surely win complete victory.

No matter how frenzied, brutal, obdurate and perfidious the U.S. imperialists may be, they will inevitably meet with bitter failure in their criminal schemes.

In the supreme interest of the Homeland, let our entire people in South Viet-Nam strengthen their solidarity, millions as one, and push forward shoulder to shoulder on the wave of our victories to completely defeat the U.S. aggressors and their stooge administration, and together with our northern compatriots fulfill the great and glorious cause of liberating the South, defending the North and proceeding toward the peaceful reunification of the Homeland.

The South Viet-Nam National Front for Liberation pledges itself to be always worthy of the confidence of our compatriots and our friends in the five continents.

THE VIETNAMESE PEOPLE WILL SURELY BE VICTORIOUS! THE U.S. AGGRESSORS AND THEIR HENCHMEN WILL SURELY BE DEFEATED!

THE PROGRAM OF THE SOUTH VIET-NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION WILL BE MADE REALITY!

FIGHTERS AND COMPATRIOTS THROUGHOUT SOUTH VIET-NAM, UNDER THE GLORIOUS BANNER OF THE SOUTH VIET-NAM NATIONAL FRONT FOR LIBERATION, MARCH FORWARD HEROICALLY!

AGOSTINHO NETO: STETHOSCOPE AND GUERRILLAS

A modest dwelling on the outskirts of Brazzaville, headquarters of the central offices of the Angolan People's Liberation Movement, was the scene of *Tricontinental's* meeting with Agostinho Neto, president of the organization that heads the independence struggle of this African colony of Portugal. This 45-year-old Angolan doctor and poet of robust physique and medium height was imprisoned in 1952 and 1955, exiled until 1959 and imprisoned again in Luanda, then deported to the Cape Verde Islands for a year. From West Africa, Neto was taken to Lisbon, where he was in prison for another six months. Obtaining conditional liberty under house arrest, he did not cease to dedicate his efforts to the organization and development of the MPLA. Agostinho Neto was born on September 17, 1922, of a marriage between a teacher and a Methodist minister. From his native Icolo E-Bengo, 60 kilometers from the capital, he moved to Luanda to attend primary and secondary school, and from there to Lisbon, to study medicine at the University of Coimbra.

Under the sun of Brazzaville, as warm as the hearts of the Congolese, Neto wears light, white clothes, in his small, simply furnished room. With one of his small children on his knees and two of his collaborators at his side, Neto speaks slowly and softly in Portuguese.

Considered one of the most cultured of African intellectuals, Agostinho Neto is the author of *Collection of Poems,* published in Lisbon in 1961. His activity as a writer does not stop him from moving freely from Algiers to Cairo, from Dar Es Salaam to Brazzaville and other capitals of the Third World, succeeding in getting material help and political aid for the liberation cause of Angola.

Now in Brazzaville, the MPLA is gaining strength again and is advancing along the path of armed struggle that it adopted from the beginning, after a period of disunity caused by internal dissension. Punctual for the appointment, Neto got out of a small European car after having attended to earlier engagements, accompanied by his wife. His skin in an African blue-black, and he shows a certain reserve and timidity of character.

Tied to a generation of fighters who shared books and discussions in the universities of Lisbon and Paris, he joined them to form an organization

that united all those who struggled for the freedom of the Portuguese colonies in Africa, with an objective that went beyond formal independence. Perhaps for this reason, Agostinho Neto fully understands how the destinies of Angola, Mozambique and "Portuguese" Guinea are bound together. These perspectives of the struggle in Angola, in the Portuguese colonies, in Africa, in the three continents, are discussed in *Tricontinental*. "Man and his Word" is this time about a political leader and poet, who comes directly to the point, as life and the form of today's poetry demands.

In spite of Kinshasa

"The latest events in the liberation struggle of our people in Angola showed that the three fronts of struggle that exist: in Cabinda, in the district of North Kwanza and Luanda and in the district of Moxico, are developing, and especially the last—that is, in the south of Moxico. This is due to the greater extension of this front, to a great participation of the population in the armed struggle and to the great enthusiasm that the guerrillas, headed by the MPLA, awakened within the population.

"But in the last months important operations were carried out, such as the cutting of the Benguela railroad (this railroad was of great economic importance for Angola — that is, for the colonial exploiter). The colonialists had utilized this railroad, had utilized it up to now to transport minerals from the Congo (K) and the majority of the agricultural products inside our country. With the cutting of this railroad their economy was profoundly damaged.

"The struggle has also developed in the northern part of the country and the MPLA has tried to sharpen the war foci that have existed in Luanda and the North Kwanza districts since 1961. Unfortunately, the possibilities of supplying these fronts have been reduced by the reactionary attitude of the government of the Congo (K) which prevents the entry and exit of MPLA militants. In Cabinda, the war fronts continue developing normally."

With regard to the prospects of the struggle in the near future, Neto commented:

"We will certainly succeed in enlarging the range of the struggle. We will carry out a greater mobilization of our people to participate in the armed struggle. Portugal maintains the same political position in relation to its colonies, and particularly as regards Angola, that is, although Portugal continues considering Angola and the other colonies overseas provinces and even though Portugal can count on the help of the reactionary countries, of those that maintain reactionary regimes in Africa, on the racists of South Africa and

Rhodesia, on its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, our people are firmly determined to fight to the end against colonial oppression.

"I believe that this year, in particular, is favorable for us, due to the development there has been in the armed struggle."

The People's Movement of Liberation of Angola has denounced the capture of guerrillas in Kinshasa by the forces of Roberto Holden. Agostinho Neto explains:

"I referred to this case a short while ago. A paradoxical situation now exists in the Congo (K), inasmuch as the Congo is a country that is in the hands of the Organization of African Unity.

"In principle, African Unity was formed to fight against colonialism and imperialism. Meanwhile, it is precisely in the Congo where Roberto Holden, whom we consider an anti-national, is a foreign agent who is trying to put a stop to our people's struggle. Police units are on the Congolese frontiers to imprison MPLA militants, who are detained on entering or leaving; that is, combatants with their equipment are simply seized and thrown into jail, without any prospect of leaving.

"And so, certain of our comrades who had proposed the armed struggle in Angola, among them old cadres of our Movement, and political cadres of great importance, were arrested and today are still held incommunicado on a base close to Kinshasa. Naturally, this situation has provoked protests, especially among the nationalist organizations of the Portuguese colonies, also among other liberation movements and organizations, and among different organizations throughout the world that have proclaimed their solidarity with our comrades."

In relation to the overall political and revolutionary situation in Africa, he explained:

"We have witnessed during the last few years a slight weakening in the anti-colonial and anti-imperialist struggle in Africa. The only countries that are carrying on the struggle with weapons in hand are the Portuguese colonies: Guinea and Cape Verde, Angola and Mozambique. In these three countries an armed struggle is being carried out against the colonialists. Meanwhile, we have witnessed a regression in various African countries in the fight against imperialism; and we also think that the reorganization of the peoples around progressive parties will permit these peoples to carry out the necessary struggle for their complete independence, which is a problem that still has to be solved by the three continents."

With regard to the revolutionary struggle in Latin America, he said:

"The situation that is being created in Latin America allows us to have the greatest hopes in the

development of the struggle of the peoples of that continent against imperialism. It is obvious that imperialism is particularly aggressive in these times, as the situation in Viet-Nam demonstrates, and the people in various countries know that by armed struggle, by direct action against imperialism, it will be possible to put a brake on imperialism by confronting it definitively, thus carrying it to defeat.

"Therefore, all armed fronts that can be produced in Latin America are contributions that, besides giving us hope, will develop this world front against imperialism progress."

Questioned about the struggle in South Viet-Nam and the bombings that North Viet-Nam is undergoing, Agostinho Neto commented.

"In our Movement, our militants are particularly moved by this attitude of the U.S.A. of threatening a peaceful people, a people which wants its total independence and has been fighting for that independence for a good number of years. The bombings carried out in North Viet-Nam, the unbelievable aggression carried out against the people of that country, are firmly and vehemently condemned by our militants, and our Movement believes that only by U.S. withdrawal from the Asiatic continent will peace be possible in that part of the world."

Regarding the work accomplished by the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, since the creation of its Executive Committee and the possibilities of strengthening the bonds between OSPAAAL and the Angolan People's Liberation Movement, he said:

"Since the creation of the Tricontinental Organization, our Movement has given it our full solidarity and has the greatest hope that it will serve as an axis for the support of the struggle of the peoples of the three continents against colonialism and imperialism.

"The MPLA, which is a member of that organization, hopes that the actions necessary to express the solidarity of the peoples of the three continents, to directly confront imperialism, will be made concrete. The formation of the school for cadres and other steps that the Tricontinental will be able to take, will be events that will put that solidarity into practice.

"I believe that the visit that the delegation of the Tricontinental Organization made to the Congo (Brazzaville), is the best way to strengthen the bonds of understanding, the bonds that already exist between our continent and the Tricontinental.

"Meanwhile, I think that the Secretariat of the Tricontinental will be able to establish other periodic forms of contact with us so that there may be perfect understanding of our Movement's situation and also so that we may know what is happening in other organizations and in other countries."

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CARLOS MARIGHELLA: SHOOTING IN THE PLAZA

It was early in the month of April 1964. Rightist elements in Brazil, directed and encouraged by the U.S. Government and headed by Marshal Castelo Branco and the fascist Lacerda, carried out their coup d'etat against the constitutional government of Joao Goulart.

An unusually violent wave of rightist repression was unleashed. The jails in Guanabara began filling up. In Recife, Gregorio Bexerra, one of the best known Communist leaders in the country, was bound by a rope and dragged through the streets. Panic became general in the face of the bestial terror and the absolute lack of resistance to the coup on the part of the leftists: the leftists had placed all their hopes in the personality and action of Goulart.

In the midst of those turbulent days, certain men recognized with complete clarity the only path open to them: to oppose the reactionary coup. An outstanding figure among them, and in a very special way, was Carlos Marighella. He was a Communist leader who enjoyed great prestige. At the head of the people who gathered in the Cinelandia Plaza in Rio de Janeiro he attempted to attack the Military Club and the Naval Officers' Club, den of all reactionary officialdom in the country. But sticks, stones and bottles had little effect against the machine-gun and carabine fire. After an almost suicidal persistence, the people began to disperse. Marighella, with a few men in the Plaza, still tried to do the impossible. Eye-witnesses to that action recall how Marighella had to be virtually dragged away from the place by other comrades. Some hours later, he tried unsuccessfully to obtain the cooperation of officers who had been considered loyal up to that moment, officers who had been considered leftists.

A few days later in a section of Tijuga, a man entered a movie theater in search of an underground contact. Suddenly the lights went on and a group of policemen rushed him. He resisted fiercely for several minutes, managing to get out into the street. Seeing that they could not capture him, the police fired several times. Carlos Marighella fell seriously wounded. He survived thanks to his strong constitution.

Marighella's example had a profund impact on the people. Here was a voice of resistance, someone who through his personal example, encouraged the people to fight against the usurpers, against those who day after day continued the long process of selling out their national sovereignty and handing over the riches of the country, of crushing the growing popular movement in order to implement the opinion of the then Foreign Minister Juracy Magalhaes that "What is good for the United States is good for Brazil."

From his early youth, Carlos Marighella was outstanding in the student struggles of his time. His fighting spirit led him to join the Brazilian Communist Party where he rose to the Executive Committee. The long years of repression and imprisonment as well as the correct analysis of the Brazilian situation and the policy in force in Latin America —and very particularly in his own country— led him to the conviction that only a violent process of revolutionary struggle would enable

straightening out of the explosive situation in Brazil. The events that led to Janio Quadros' resignation gave support to his judgment and the toppling of Goulart proved it correct once and for all.

After long months of convalescence and imprisonment, he was released. He rejoined the underground movement that the reactionary regime had forced upon the country. Elected by the Communists to the post of Secretary General in the strategic state of Sao Paulo, he resigned his position in the Executive Committee and set about carrying out the arduous and difficult task of organizing the methods for the most effective struggle in Brazil: the revolutionary armed struggle.

Marighella has profoundly analyzed the Brazilian situation. His essays *Why I Resisted Arrest* and *The Brazilian Crisis* give the true picture of the situation in the country. They criticize the policy of conciliation with the bourgeoisie and defend the need for guerrilla struggle in his country. Today, Marighella —along with numerous Brazilian leaders— is among those who, having a clear perspective of the revolutionary struggle in Latin America, have demonstrated their determination to fight until victory is won.

Upon visiting Cuba to take part in the OLAS Conference, he proclaimed the historic need for the armed struggle. He maintained that armed struggle is the only vehicle for overthrowing the Brazilian tyranny and establishing a government representative of the people.

On October 30, the official organ of the French Communist Party, *L'Humanité,* published an article datelined Rio de Janeiro, in which they announced that Carlos Marighella and Jovert Teles, both members of the Central Committee, were formally expelled from the Brazilian Communist Party.

In the manner of Garibaldi

Speaking of the road that must be followed by the Brazilian people to reach its true liberation, Marighella pointed out: "The way of revolution in Brazil can be no other than the armed way. Since the United States has Brazil at its disposal as a base of operations, a fact that was strengthened particularly after the coup d'etat of 1964, every possibility of taking the peaceful road to revolution has been exhausted.

"If such a road were possible, we would have to admit that imperialism had lost its aggressiveness and its bellicose character, to the point of accepting the electoral decision of a people deprived of revolutionary armed forces and armed only with the right to vote.

"The oppressive conditions existing in Brazil and the needs imposed to imperialism by its global strategy for domination of the peoples, will lead our country, inevitably, in the end, towards armed revolution.

"This end will be equivalent to guerrilla warfare, the only way, given the present conditions, to raise revolutionary consciousness and to prepare the necessary conditions for the taking of power by the people."

Concerning the role of the peasants, the working class and the students in the Brazilian revolutionary process, Marighella explained: "The peasant is the fundamental ally of the proletariat. He is the pivot point of the Brazilian revolution.

"The great tragedy of the Brazilian revolution is the lack of support of the peasant, resulting from the absence of political activity in the countryside.

"Unleashing the guerrilla in the rural areas of Brazil will make possible the rectification of this problem which has systematically led to the defeat of our revolutionary movement. The peasant will be called in this manner to political combat and his appearance on the revolutionary scene will open a perspective for the seizure of power by the armed violence of the masses.

"The role of the urban and rural proletariat is that of uniting and seeking an armed alliance with the peasants. This means that the Brazilian urban proletariat must proceed from the economic to the political struggle, providing incentive for the fighting in the countryside and participating in it in every way possible.

"The rural proletariat is the link between the urban proletariat and the peasant.

"This is the way out for the worker-peasant alliance which must be transformed into an armed alliance.

"This means that work with the urban and rural proletariat must be directed fundamentally to support the fight of the guerrilla and strengthen it in every circumstance.

"The role of the student is, in the final analysis, to participate in the fight with the worker and the peasant. The objective of the union of student with worker and peasant is to create a nucleus of revolutionary fighters which would be the embryo of the liberation army and open the road for the taking of power."

In reference to the most effective formula for expressing solidarity with the liberation movements, he said: "Among the most efficient ways is the unleashing of armed struggle in those countries which have submitted to imperialism and where the revolutionary movement has not yet decided to fight with arms in hand.

"The Brazilian people, for example, would give effective solidarity to Viet-Nam and to other peoples of the three continents if, at this time, they launched a guerrilla war. It is towards this end that the revolutionaries are now working in Brazil."

With respect to the assistance the liberated countries should offer those remaining under the yoke of imperialist exploitation, Marighella noted that: "The nations already liberated acquired their freedom only through armed struggle. None of them did it by peaceful means.

"It would be inadmissible that such countries should now refuse to recognize the right of the other Latin American peoples to resort to armed struggle. Those countries already liberated should, therefore, give assistance to those which are not yet liberated, and do it by the same means — that is, by armed struggle.

"This is the Latin American process, where the liberated countries will always be under the threat of armed aggression by the United States. In these conditions the **non-liberated** must take up arms, while the **liberated** must aid them in order to destroy imperialism in all of Latin America."

In discussing the reformist tendencies in Brazil, the Brazilian communist leader pointed out: "The reformist ideological currents in Brazil play the role of cooling down the liberation struggle. They constitute the main pivot point of the bourgeoisie and of imperialism in our country and contribute to the transformation of Brazil into a type of pawn used by the United States in the repression of the liberation movements of other Latin American peoples. This means the following: reformism preaches the ideological, strategic and tactical submission of the proletariat to the bourgeoisie, and in this manner facilitates the work of the bourgeoisie and imperialism in deceiving the masses.

"The result is the permanent postponement of change and the continuation of exploitation and domination by imperialism. The bourgeoisie, in this case, remains free of the internal consequences of the revolution and has all the necessary means to launch its military forces in support of the United States in its aggression against the people who are fighting with arms in hand."

Discussing the relations maintained by the Costa e Silva Brazilian regime with the Salazar dictatorship, Carlos Marighella said: "After the coup in Brazil in April, when all the wealth of the country passed completely to the control of the United States, the foreign policy of Costa e Silva is more sharply accentuated as a policy in favor of the interests of United States imperialism and, in this manner, shows the nature of Brazilian Government support for the Salazar Administration. The Salazar Administration, with its brutal, colonialist policy, separated from the peoples of its colonies, traditionally has sought the support of the Brazilian Government. In general, Brazilian administrations have given support to Salazar of Portugal, and now, with the dictatorship and administration of Costa e Silva, it is possible to observe this position much more clearly; it is nothing more than support and assistance for the Salazar dictatorship. And we must remember that imperialism has a global plan opposing the liberty of the peoples, directed not only against the people of Latin America, but also against the peoples of Asia and Africa, — that is,

against those who fight, many with arms in hand, as is the case of the peoples of Mozambique and Angola.

"In the Portuguese colonies the peoples are conducting an armed struggle against the Salazar dictatorship for their liberation. U.S. imperialism has no interest in the development of this war. Being assured, as they are, of a commanding position in control of the wealth of a country such as Brazil, which, because of its historical and traditional conditions, maintains relations with Portugal, the Yankee imperialists will do everything possible to ensure that Brazil and Portugal become better allies with each passing day. The dictatorial governments of Costa e Silva and of Salazar are each day more united in carrying out the repression of the liberation movements of Angola, Bissau and other Portuguese colonies.

"The Brazilian Government of Costa e Silva has reinforced its alliance with the Salazar dictatorship. It is necessary to denounce this and, above all, to understand that an organization such as OSPAAAL has every right to strive for the unification of the peoples of the three continents against the position of imperialism.

"Costa e Silva has repeatedly given Salazar assistance and concessions which are clearly destined for use against the guerrilla movements of Angola and the other colonies.

"We know, and we must denounce the fact, that Brazilian warships go to Angola for 'visits,' but they attempt to camouflage these 'visits' by saying that their marine cadets are on training voyages while, in reality, they have naval missions, aggressive missions of war, to carry out.

"There are also military missions, military exchanges — all carried out by the Brazilian gorillas. There is also the training of Portuguese officials to repress the guerrillas of the Angolan people. It is no mere coincidence that Brazil is transforming itself into a great center for anti-guerrilla training, not only for the repression of the guerrillas of Brazil and Latin America, but also for repression throughout the area of the Tricontinental and, particularly, against the African guerrillas.

"And we also now know of the news that the Brazilian Government has given airplanes to Portugal in order to repress the combatants in Angola, in Bissau and other areas. Therefore, as can be seen, it is necessary to intensify the fight in Brazil against the support by the Brazilian dictatorship of the Salazar dictatorship of Portugal. It is necessary to do this because the allies of the Brazilian people are those people of Africa and those people of Angola who are seeking their liberation through armed combat.

"It is for this reason that I wish to underline the importance of the

support of OSPAAAL as the organization capable of undertaking the task of unification of the revolutionary forces of the three continents in the fight of the guerrillas to defeat United States imperialism; to liquidate this new colonialism and, in particular, the colonialism of the Salazar dictatorship."

Questioned about the military plans of the Brazilian and Argentine military regimes and about the creation of the Inter-American Peace Force, Marighella replied: "There are two countries that hold a very characteristic position in the struggle in Latin America; they are Brazil and Argentina, because of their oligarchic governments, their military forces, their economies and their underdevelopment and many other reasons. All Brazilian military strategy has been based on the possibility of military struggle between Brazil and Argentina. It is certain that there are contradictions. The contradictions for example on the question of hegemony over other countries such as Paraguay. Brazil has made incursions violating her frontier with Paraguay that have been denounced. Argentina also wishes by illegal means to establish her control over Paraguay and Uruguay. It is the question of the hegemony to be exercised by Brazil and Argentina over the Latin American countries with which they have frontiers which is at issue.

"They unite to repress the liberation movements of the two countries and of other countries of Latin America. The understandings, the agreements between Costa e Silva and Onganía, which all the newspapers have denounced, have been forged under the very eyes of U.S. imperialism, which needs to maintain, in this respect, an understanding, a unity, to facilitate repression of the guerrillas. In my opinion, the militarists of Brazil and Argentina are seeking a fundamental understanding aimed at the repression of the liberation movements of the peoples of Argentina and Brazil.

"Although they have differences in the matter of organization of the Inter-American Peace Force, fundamentally they seek an agreement for repression. The bourgeoisie that holds in its hands the dictatorships of Argentina and Brazil — represented by the military, because they are military dictatorships — is afraid that with the Inter-American Peace Force, imperialism may occupy certain positions now enjoyed by the bourgeoisie. It is not because it wants to conduct a fight against imperialism, but because it wants the country to be a dependency without risking its economic interests or assured positions. The bourgeoisie prefers to make concessions and give everything to the imperialists. It is clear that this has not stopped the advance of the national liberation movements."

In relation to the attitude to be maintained by revolutionaries in

the face of imperialist intervention, Marighella said: "If it is possible, because of reaction and oppression, to invade other countries with oligarchic troops, we then have the right, as revolutionaries of Latin America, to offer our support at every point where it may be required to confront the combined action of imperialism and its lackeys. This is what one may see more clearly now, but it is not new to Latin America: in Brazil we have the example of Garibaldi, the great Italian revolutionary fighter who came to struggle for the liberation of our country. And his wife, Anita Garibaldi, a Brazilian, who later left Brazil with her husband to fight for the liberation of other countries, ending in Italy. Given many such examples in the history of Latin America and, above all, now, the U.S. position of aggression opposed by the entire world, of attempting to impede the liberation of the peoples, how can we, the Latin American revolutionaries, continue to ignore the fight raging within our frontiers? It cannot be so. This is a revolutionary conception that must be taken up.

"It is necessary to carry on a struggle to smash and to liquidate this same capitalist system inside the United States, without whose defeat there can be no liberation for the Black population. For us, the Brazilians, it is also a fundamental question. A country that has a great percentage of Blacks in its population cannot feel any other way on a question such as the general alliance of the peoples of Latin America with the Black people of the United States. The questions of solidarity with Vietnam, of solidarity with the Cuban Revolution, of solidarity with the Black people of the United States are the three main points of the general fight of all humanity against United States imperialism. This can be achieved — not by words, but by the opening up of armed struggle, of the guerrilla struggle, in the countries of Latin America."

Discussing his position on resigning from the office he held in the Brazilian Communist Party, Marighella said: "Within the Brazilian Communist Party there is an ideological position of the Right, of the leadership, of the majority of the leaders of the Brazilian Party, who do not want to understand that it is necessary to make changes, that it is not possible to continue holding the same position, that when the Party has been given a legal status, in spite of everything, it was only a half a democracy, a utopian thing such as the democracy we had in Brazil.

"But, for example, we now have in power a military dictatorship and the leadership must change; the men must change, whether they want to or not; the leadership of our Party has not changed and has held a position siding with the national bourgeoisie, as in the previous period. They continue to say that there is in Brazil a national bourgeoisie that we must

support because it has differences with imperialism and the latifundists.

"But this plan of action is outmoded; this was possible at a time when the bourgeoisie was developing and when imperialism did not exist. This could have been valid in times prior to the French Revolution and up to the period in which imperialism had not yet developed as a system. But, after the Second World War, after the victory of the Chinese Revolution, after the victory of the Cuban Revolution, it cannot be said that the national bourgeoisie has any interest in carrying out the fight against imperialism and the latifundists. An objective analysis of the bourgeoisie, such as was made at the conference we held in Sao Paulo, has demonstrated in a thorough manner, totally and irrefutably, that the majority of the Brazilian bourgeoisie is in league with U.S. imperialism. The giant enterprises of the capitalists and of the Brazilian groups of capitalists are enterprises in league with General Motors and Firestone and many other Yankee monopolies.

"The conventional leadership of the Party is still very worried because I made this declaration: 'Requesting my release from the Central Committee of the Party, as I do herewith, I wish to make public that it is my intention to fight in the revolution of the masses and not remain waiting for the seizure of political power by the conventional tactics followed by the leadership. I wish to say, herewith, that I have left the Party because I wish to follow Marxism-Leninism as the sole means of the people, but not to subordinate it to the wishes of the Rightists and the opportunists; I leave then, resigning from the company of the opportunists to fight with the revolutionary masses. And I shall not remain waiting for Party approval.' "

The communist leader's final reference was to the role that OSPAAAL must undertake in the fight against imperialism in the three continents. He said: "I believe that OSPAAAL has been given the role of unifying the fight against imperialism on the three continents. We know that Latin America, Asia and Africa are continents in which imperialism exploits millions of people, where millions of peasants live in misery, without land of their own to work, dominated by gorilla governments whose main activity is to defend the interests of the trusts and monopolies. Imperialism is the common enemy of the three continents and at the head of imperialism is the United States.

"The peoples of the three continents must find in OSPAAAL the indispensable instrument for the support of the fight against imperialism, for unity among the revolutionaries who understand that there is no other way out for the Third World except the organization of a just and necessary war against imperialism."

THE MOST POWERFUL WORLD OF OUR TIME

by Peter Weiss

The text of a speech recorded especially for TRICONTINENTAL by the German playwright Peter Weiss.

We are discussing the relationship of the politically engaged writer with the Third World and with the underdeveloped countries.

To begin with I want to change the wordings; I do not like the expression "Third World," I do not like to speak about "underdeveloped" countries. The expression "Third World" is based on class-thinking, it qualifies a third class of world, it does not express what this "Third World" contains. It seems to be a world which is sort of hanging on to other worlds which in turn look upon themselves as more important. But this "Third World" makes up the most powerful world of our time. We have to choose a new expression for it; we could call it the "revolutionary world" or the "world of liberation struggle," or call it by a name which shows the militant, the dynamic, the explosive character of this world. From it the great changes will issue, the changes we will have to live through during the following years. I do not want to call those countries which are now rising and which are struggling to build up their new societies, their new attitude towards life, underdeveloped countries; they are not underdeveloped in comparison to the so-called developed countries. They do not have, of course, the same level of industrialization and technical equipment, but they have reached something which many of the so-called developed countries have not reached yet: they have dynamically changed or are on their way to changing their society in a more complete manner than that which changes have brought about in the Western societies. I mean, of course, changes through revolution. I mean Cuba, Viet-Nam, North Korea, Algeria, the liberated zones of Guinea.

These nations have freed themselves from dominating classes, they have freed themselves from oppression, they have freed themselves from exploitation; they have established the dignity of man; and only this can be called development in our time. We should call the revolutionary countries, **developed countries,** and the Western countries, which still adhere to a society which is based on class formation and exploitation, **underdeveloped.**

For example, Viet-Nam and the United States of America: in comparison to the U.S.A., Viet-Nam is a developed country. The society of the United States contains atavistic, reactionary antihumanitarian elements; racism is alive, powerful groups are ruling over the majority of the nation.

There are those who come from Western society to lend a helping hand to the so-called underdeveloped world. They often believe they find backwardness there. They forget what such backwardness; they forget it is they who have won their power, their superiority, their technical development have won their power, their superiority, their technical development through the exploitation of these countries. Such being the case, the backwardness is not the fault of these countries they come to as helpers; it is the fault of the Western ruling classes, who, by no other means than colonialist oppression, and by exploiting the people of the "Third World" to the marrow of their bones, built up their enormous power.

This is very often an unconscious attitude on their part, though it is an attitude which carries weight in their relationship with the peoples of these countries. Often the visitor says he does not understand what is happening in these countries; he says the peoples of these countries speak a different language. With false superiority he looks down upon them from his high technical standards, looks down upon a country which is in the first phase of developing higher standards of dignity.

How can a European intellectual find new means through which to manifest his solidarity with the revolutionary world?

Writing, in itself, can be a very potent activity. It is not only you who write; there are many elsewhere working for the same aims. All of them together make up one extensive universal front. This front is part of the active revolutionary struggle. Much in the same way as the guerrilla fighter uses his gun decisively, the writer ought clearly to define his standpoint. He must not hide anything. It is not enough to send to those who are fighting in the hills some warm words of friendship; you have to show them your militant and political support.

Often the question is raised of what you can attain with a work of art, with a book, a poem, a painting, a play; and you ask your-

self the question, if it could ever have the effect of the machine gun in the hills. Often I see the superiority of the guerrilla fighter over an intellectual who is content with voicing his solidarity.

But as the war is fought on many fronts, every front on which you fight the enemy can be a strategic point. There might arise situations which compel you to change your attitude and become directly militant. In many countries this is the only solution.

In Western European countries there is still great value attached to writing. As far as I am concerned, writing has been a process in which I became conscious of myself and of the world I am living in. By writing I educated myself, by writing I developed my political thinking. By developing myself, I, as a writer, secure the possibility of influencing others.

In Europe, I see a great obstacle for revolution in the passive attitude of the workers. We do not reach the powerful masses of the workers, we are only in touch with groups of militant intellectuals, and that is not enough. This we felt very strongly: the lack of a revolutionary attitude on the part of the workers in capitalist society, the lack of their direct protest, their direct participation in the struggle of the revolutionary world. Too often we see that the workers in capitalist society only fight for their own immediate economic development.

Yes, they are fighting, too; they are fighting to change their situation; they are not fighting for the entire change of their society, nor do they speak about the change of the entire world, in which all societies would have to change. They are still limited in their consciousness of the necessity of global revolution.

As long as the intellectuals make up small elites without direct collaboration with the working masses the result of their work will be limited. Every revolutionary knows a revolution is not won by an elite; a revolution is won by the masses of workers and peasants in the country.

To whom do I address myself in my plays? Is my audience made up of the bourgeoisie rather than proletarians?

Of course, this differs from one case to another, as my plays have been played in both capitalist and socialist countries. In capitalist society, the theater is mostly a form of the bourgeois world, the working class does not regard the theatre as its own form of art. The workers do not own the theatres. They feel alienated in front of the stage. This turns out to be entirely different in socialist countries, where a quite new audience is attending the theater, and where the theater is owned by the populace. Here the theater is duly appreciated, the theater belongs to the populace; it is not an institution which has been built up by

a privileged class for the pleasure of the privileged class.

As a dramatist, I have been awarded the possibility of reaching both the population of a classless society, and of a bourgeois society, reaching it by being agressive with it, by being provocative with it. Of course my goal is to address myself to a conscious audience, an audience which is made up of people who share my political standpoint and who wish to undertake a political analysis of their times, the times they are living in.

I do not know how it is for other writers. There are good plays which should be comprehensible for all societies, for everybody. But I am sure I would write in a different way if I live in a socialist society, and I mean through and through a socialist society, where there would be no need to criticize society, where my writing would be part of a common constructive work, where I should deal with the problems and conflicts underlying a new attitude toward life.

The plays I have written until now are the result of my milieu, the result of the world in which I have grown up.

The situation of a present-day socialist writer differs from that of the time in which Brecht lived. The fight going on then between fascism and communism was more simple than the fight going on today, in which the socialist world is a very complex world and contains many different aspects. There is the question of the necessity of world revolution, there is the difference between the technically highly developed socialist society and the former colonialized new world of the struggle for liberation. You have to analyse your own point of view, and indicate where you stand: whether you believe in the necessity of global revolution or whether you want to appeal to world-wide solidarity.

To start with, you have to secure a great deal of knowledge and insight, and never lose sight of the historical aspects of the situation, and, also, never lose yourself in emotional reflections. Historically seen, socialism is going through a natural development. It is demonstrating that it is a force very much alive. It would not be alive if it had become stagnant within one closed bloc. The fact that it is open and developing many different aspects —even aspects which are in strong conflict with one another— makes it dynamic, dynamic in a Marxist sense.

Cuba, Viet-Nam, and North Korea have already established a norm on present-day revolutionary socialism, which expounds a new viewpoint in the socialist world. In Cuba and Viet-Nam, no doubt, Marxism means Humanism. In these countries, Marxism is always subject to development, always subject to internal discus-

sion, never afraid of criticizing itself, and never afraid even of criticizing the other socialist countries. I think this shows an enormous strength, as these countries are fighting in the front line against the threat of imperialism.

Many intellectuals in Europe today are very much concerned with Cuba's and Viet-Nam's fight. And when the revolution develops in other Latin American countries, I think this will influence even those socialist countries which as of now are not yet in agreement with the absolute necessity of armed struggle.

I think of the enormous difficulties, human difficulties, of the fact that it is difficult to change oneself, to really change one's attitude, to change one's own past, to free one's self from the influence of the old society one has been brought up in, to free one's self from the corruption of which almost every artist in the Western world partakes. With a greater or lesser degree of consciousness, one is dependent upon the institutions of these countries. Even if you take liberties in expressing what you think, you still belong to the old Western society, and you have to work hard to break away from it. The revolutionary world is very, very different from the secure world I have grown up in, in spite of having lived through the period of German fascism, of emigration and war. All this is very different from the fight which is going on today.

I have to bring myself to fear my old European security, the security of having an audience, theaters, editors: I have to endanger my situation. The confrontation of the European artists, writers, intellectuals with a revolutionary country like Cuba is of great importance. Arriving in Cuba or in Viet-Nam, we become directly involved in the war which is going on; we derive a strong physical experience from it.

Being in Cuba teaches me every day, every hour almost, the danger facing the country. Being on an island which is surrounded, blockaded by the enemy, I get to know what it means to live and to work confronted with the enemy, to construct, to build and not to give way to the ominous threat of destruction. This is an experience of strength and courage which I have never had in Europe. In the midst of the political struggles going on in Europe, you are more safe, you can withdraw, you can hide yourself; but here you are absolutely in the open, you can be attacked any minute; everything which is built here is constantly threatened with destruction by the enemy, because the enemy has no aim other than to destroy; he must destroy the revolution in order to keep alive his atavistic, brutal and reactionary values. This you feel strongly, and this makes your own point of view clearer; it forces you to be still more consequent in your own backyard.

ASIA: NO WAVERING

On the occasion of the Worldwide Week of Solidarity with the Asian Peoples, held from September 30 to October 6, the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat addressed an appeal to its member organizations for the commemoration of this date. Referring to the struggle of the Vietnamese people, OSPAAAL's statement says that "The National Front for Liberation has won the first stage of the local war, especially in defeating the two big counter-offensives launched by U.S. imperialism during 1965-66 and 1966-67." It also points out that the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam "have defeated the aerial war of escalation."

With respect to Laos, the appeal says that "The Neo Lao Haksat and the entire people are raising high the banner of the struggle by defeating the special warfare of the imperialists and their lackeys." The Kingdom of Cambodia "is courageously hitting back at the aggressors with the firm determination to defend its sovereignty and territorial integrity."

After pointing out that in Thailand, the Philippines, North Kalimantan and Malaysia "The armed struggle has spread like wildfire," the document goes on to say that the people of Indonesia "have recently undertaken an armed struggle for their liberation and independence."

British colonialist domination in Occupied South Yemen "is collapsing in the face of the revolutionary armed offensive of the peoples," the appeal notes, and in Japan "the anti-imperialist struggle of the people is steadily increasing every day."

In Hong Kong and South Korea, the popular masses fight against British and United States domination respectively. "This intensification of the revolutionary struggle of the Asian peoples," the statement continues, "as well as the growing development of the struggle of the African and Latin American peoples, is seriously worrying the imperialist and reactionary forces."

Finally, the document denounces the fact that imperialism is using bases in the occupied territories and that it threatens the Democratic People's Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China with aggression.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF GUINEA: REVOLUTIONARY TRADITION

Guinea has maintained its foreign policy of supporting the struggle being waged by the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America for their liberation. The voice of the Guinean representatives has echoed in the Organization for African Unity, calling for greater support for the liberation movements of the black continent. The aid received by the fighters in so-called Portuguese Guinea can be pointed to with special emphasis.

During the Eighth Congress of the DPG, held in Conakry (September 25—October 2), special measures were adopted to thwart those elements collaborating with imperialism who try to subvert Sékou Touré's government. The Congress approved a resolution stipulating the nationalization of all goods belonging to people who were unable to justify how they had acquired them. This will affect both national and foreign interests which have tried to oppose the economic and social measures adopted by Guinea's democratic government. The DPG's National Political Bureau was formed, under the leadership of Touré, and its main task will be the safeguarding of the revolutionary victories. Abilio Duarte, representative of the Portuguese Colonies, and Walterio Fierro, of Chile, participated in the Congress as representatives of OSPAAAL. We reprint textually the speech given by Abilio Duarte.

On behalf of the Executive Secretariat of the Organization of Solidarity of the Peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, we wish to extend our warmest greetings of admiration and respect to the Secretary General of the Democratic Party of Guinea, His Excellency President Ahmed Sékou Touré, and express our sincerest appreciation for the great honor and the opportunity he has given us, through his personal invitation, of participating in the Eighth Congress of the DPG.

We also wish to extend our warmest greetings to all the members of the National Political Bureau, as well as to all the militants who, from their posts, are endeavoring to safeguard the revolutionary achievements of the Guinean people.

For those who know the historic role played by the African Democratic Group (Rassemblement Démocratique Africain) during the process of emancipation of the people of Guinea, that people formerly dominated by French colonialism, and the peoples of all Africa; for those who know the extraordinary meaning of the historic "no" that the Guinean people gave colonialism, right in the face of imperialism; for

those who know the great work of mobilization carried out by the Democratic Party of Guinea among the masses during the ten years of constant struggle for the consolidation of their independence —this Congress will undoubtedly constitute a valuable contribution to the liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America that have decided to oppose imperialist violence with revolutionary violence.

Moreover, after achieving independence, Guinea has always followed the revolutionary tradition of the DPG in regard to the contribution it has made to the liberation struggles of fraternal peoples, particularly to those that are determinedly engaged in armed struggle, as in the case of the substantial and important aid granted to the combatants of so-called Portuguese Guinea.

Keeping in mind the fact that, at present, armed struggle is the only effective way to wipe out colonialism, neo-colonialism and imperialism, we are convinced that the DPG will continue to support the development of the national armed liberation struggles in the African continent, the importance of which has just been confirmed by the recent outbreak of armed struggle among the people of Zimbabwe. This people now forms an additional link in the struggle that the peoples of so-called Portuguese Guinea, Angola, Mozambique, the Congo (K) and South Africa have been waging for years.

This Congress — convened at a time when the aggressive and reactionary forces of imperialism are resorting to all kinds of provocation and sabotage, with the support of their lackeys, traitors to Africa, going so far as to illegally arrest delegates of the Guinean Government —represents a serious warning to the imperialists and their African puppets, who are demonstrating, through their many coups d'etat, that they have intensified their offensive against this continent and that they are more determined than ever to wipe out any revolutionary government, such as the one that was headed by that great African in Ghana— we are referring to President Kwame Nkrumah. At present, the imperialist forces, especially French imperialism and its lackeys in Africa, are making new efforts to overthrow the Government and the Democratic Party of Guinea, with the intention of depriving the revolutionary people of Guinea of their vanguard. But these sinister maneuvers of the imperialists and their African lackeys, headed by U.S. imperialism, will be defeated, because the people of Guinea are today more alert than ever and conscious of their present responsibilities and future tasks, and that is why the revolutionary forces of the nation rally round their vanguard Party and their leader, President Ahmed Sékou Touré.

But, apart from the determination of the people of Guinea to safeguard their independence and defend their revolutionary achieve-

ments, we are living at a time when all peoples dominated by colonialism and neo-colonialism, and those that are consolidating their recently acquired independence, are no longer isolated.

In Viet-Nam today, the front-line trench of the anti-imperialist struggle of the peoples, the U.S. imperialists —despite all the crimes that they perpetrate daily, which have no precedent in the annals of history for barbarity and inhumanity— are suffering increasingly crushing defeats every day at the hands of the NFL of South Viet-Nam, and of the People's Army and the people of the Democratic Republic of Viet-Nam. At the same time, the struggle for liberation of the peoples of Laos, Thailand, Malaya, the Philippines, South Korea, Indonesia, North Kalimantan and South Yemen is growing and developing.

In Latin America, especially in Venezuela, Colombia, Guatemala, Bolivia and Nicaragua, the national armed liberation struggle is steadily increasing every day, and this has led the militant forces of these countries to hold the OLAS Conference in Havana, where they mapped out in a straightforward manner the fundamental path to follow: that of armed struggle.

In the Middle East, despite the aggression perpetrated by the imperialists and Israel against the Arab states, by means of which Israel occupied territory of the UAR, Jordan and Syria, and despite the maneuvers plotted in the UN, the revolutionary forces of the Arab world are more than ever convinced that the only way out for them is to face all imperialist aggression determinedly, weapons in hand.

All these struggles must be coordinated, today more than ever, so as to oppose the global strategy of imperialism with the global strategy of the militant peoples of the three continents and of the whole world. For this reason, we are bringing the firm support and pledge of the peoples and revolutionary forces of Africa, Asia and Latin America who, shoulder to shoulder with the people of Guinea, will continue their work with determination, so that they may see their aspirations of liberty, progress and happiness crowned with success.

Long live the Democratic Party of Guinea and its great leader, Secretary General Ahmed Sékou Touré!

Long live the unity and revolutionary solidarity among the people of Guinea and the peoples of Africa!

Long live unity and revolutionary solidarity among the peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America!

Down with imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism and their lackeys!

THIS GREAT HUMANITY HAS SAID: "ENOUGH!" AND HAS STARTED TO MOVE FORWARD!

Delegation of the Executive Secretariat of OSPAAAL.

Conakry, September 1967

The OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat published an appeal on the occasion of the celebration of International Day of Solidarity with the Black People of the United States, last August 18.

On mentioning the Watts rebellion, which marked a starting point in the Black people's movement of resistance, the document states that "On this occasion, Black Americans took up arms to fight against 400 years of fascism, during which they have been subjected to inhuman exploitation and discrimination, thus demonstrating to their oppressors and to world public opinion their resolve to attain freedom."

After analyzing the roots of this rebellion and the increasing awareness of American Black people, the appeal points out that the real objectives of this struggle "are aimed at the destruction of the economic, political and social system prevailing today in the United States."

Having examined the revolts that have taken place in Watts, Selma, Chicago, Harlem, Newark and Detroit, OSPAAAL's appeal emphasizes that "This is a clear demonstration that the Black people of the United States have undertaken an irreversible struggle." The declaration speaks of the repression practiced against Black people and of the decision of the Black masses to take up arms, and goes on to point out that this is "The highest expression of the revolutionary struggle in the United States."

As for the role played by Black people in the struggle of the Third World, OSPAAAL's appeal says that "The struggle of the U. S. Black people is part of the struggle that all the peoples of the world — especially those of Africa, Asia and Latin America — are waging against Yankee imperialism."

On the position of the Black population vis-à-vis the war in Viet-Nam, the document declares that "Many young Black people — as in the case of Cassius Clay — have set an example by refusing to be used as cannon fodder in this criminal war."

"We are convinced," the statement continues, "that the Afro-North American people will march at the vanguard of this struggle, under the leadership of men like Stokely Carmichael, Rap Brown and others, and that they will fight resolutely, until final liberation is achieved."

Finally, the OSPAAAL Executive Secretariat calls on "revolutionary and progressive forces to express their militant support and to carry out effective demonstrations of solidarity with the Black people of the United States."

news behind the news

¶ Strange as it may seem, the fascist regime of the Republic of South Africa has made great progress in the establishment of economic ties and political relations with a series of African governments. Let us examine some of the data and information available.

—Its exports to Lesotho, Botswana and Swaziland amount to approximately 23.7 million pounds sterling.

The trade with the African countries north of the Zambezi River already exceeds 50 million pounds sterling. Early in 1967, an important commercial agreement was signed between the Republic of South Africa and the government of Premier Banda, of Malawi. The latter sent a high level delegation to Pretoria to sign the above-mentioned agreement. Banda also clamors for the full recognition of the fascist regime of Vorster by the other African governments.

—Mr. George Githii, former personal secretary of Kenyatta and present editor of the *Nation* —a newspaper chain published in Nairobi— a man who has considerable influence in the political spheres of this capital, visited the Republic of South Africa last December. His activities while there were shrouded by the greatest discretion in official circles, even though the most influential newspapers of Pretoria, Johannesburg and Cape Town ran many encomiastic articles and commentaries relative to Kenya, in which the economic possibilities offered by that nation were discussed.

—Last November it was possible to learn of a substantial increase in the exports of the Republic of South Africa to Ghana, especially in the exportation of large quantities of canned food.

—According to the South African journal *Financial Mail*, Zambia's exports to the Republic of South Africa in 1966 reached a total of 14 million pounds sterling. Its imports from that country reached a total of 29.2 million pounds sterling during the same year.

—Rothmans, the huge South African tobacco monopoly, has increased its operations in Eastern Africa, basing its activities in Kenya. This enterprise is part of the economic empire of the Afrikaner Dr. Anton Rupert. Five prominent Kenyan citizens form part of the company in Nairobi, Mr. Joseph Murumbi being one of its most outstanding officers. Murumbi *resigned as Vice-President of the Republic in order to join the staff of the illustrious Dr. Rupert.*

—Diverse reports indicate that the Afrikaners are developing their economic relations with Nigeria, although concrete information is not available.

—The South African penetration has already started to cross the Sahara barrier. On February 23 of this year, the *Rand Daily Mail*, an influential South African newspaper, commented on the increase of the relation of Lybia with the Republic of South Africa. The financial circles of Pretoria insistently point out the necessity of developing —within the framework of their current policy— technical assistance, loans and investments of capital.

These are some of the data and information that in a very eloquent manner illustrate how Vorster is gaining sway in Africa. Something along the same lines is also being done by his colleague of Salisbury, the fascist Ian Smith, as is shown by his commercial dealings with the government of Ahidjo, of Cameroon. Behind all this, stimulating and fostering this policy, are the Anglo-American cartels and monopolies, as well as Oppenheim and family.

As an official confirmation of all this, Mr. Hildegaard Muller, Foreign Minister of the government of the Republic of South Africa, declared on April 4, 1967 that "...The government is giving its total support to the South African businessmen who start enterprises in the nations of Black Africa."

And all of this is happening irrespective of the solemn decisions and agreements taken by the OAU and of the necessary unity and brotherhood of the African States.

According to our information, today Malawi, Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland, Zambia, Ghana, Nigeria, Kenya and Lybia are the states that, because of their policy towards the Republic of South Africa, are responsible for the crisis which one of the sacred principles of African policy is undergoing. Others will join this policy in the future, and perhaps what happened in regard to the breaking-off agreement with Great Britain will happen again.

q Mobutu, the paratrooper trained in Tel Aviv, the "nationalist" and self-proclaimed "helper" of the movements of national liberation, was placed on the pillory of public derision by Agostinho Neto, President of the Angolan Popular Movement. In a letter addressed to Mobutu, Neto denounces: "The nation that could play the leading role in our liberation struggle, Congo Kinshasa, has not maintained, up to the present, the correct attitude to facilitate the development of this struggle. Just as we informed Your Excellency, several groups of fighters which we organized with a view to supplying the Angolan guerrillas were arrested and submitted to the most horrible tortures in Congolese territory."

Neto's message further adds: "Likewise, the authorities of Congo Kinshasa arrested over fifty militants of our movement nearly a year ago, and submitted them to the most rigorous seclusion, keeping them incommunicado in underground dungeons, torturing, abusing and humiliating them in a manner that can only be compared with that employed in the colonialist dungeons."

In another part of the letter, the Angolan leader points out that "The acknowledgment of the Liberation Committee as 'Government in Exile' has served as a pretext to curb the activity of the MPLA." The Directing Committee of the MPLA decided not to participate in the Conference of Chiefs of State of the OAU held in Kinshasa.

Elections will be held in Guyana next year. Burnham, the current Prime Minister, has contracted the services of the Shoupp Electoral Commission Agency, a U. S. outfit which specializes in the preparation of elections. This agency was active in elections that gave the "victory" to Thieu-Cao Ky in South Viet-Nam.

At present Guyana pays the United States 17% of its total annual revenue to cover "interest payments," and observers estimate that by 1969 this will reach 25%. The penetration is not only economic and electoral: the Muslim Youth Organization, Ghandi Youth Organization, Peace Corps, Catholic Youth, and others take charge of the ideological and cultural work.

¶ What does Thailand represent for the aggressive U. S. military effectives in South East Asia?

Number of U. S. troops: 40,000.

Number of U. S. planes: 550 (including a number of B-52s).

Number of air bases: 7.

Location: Don Muang, U-Tapao, Korat, Ubon, Nakhon Phanom, Udorn, Takhli.

Current objectives: Demilitarized Zone (17th Parallel), Hanoi, Haiphong and liberated zones of Laos. 80% of the raids against the D.R.V. are carried out by planes taking off from Thailand.

Counterpart:

Reports issuing from the Bangkok authorities report the emergence of new guerrilla detachments in the southern and central parts of the country. The guerrillas are operating in the districts of Chumphon, Prachuap Khiri Khan, Rat Buri, Kancha Naburi and in the province of Nan. According to Praphas Charusathien, Thai Minister of the Interior, the new guerrilla focuses are composed of over a thousand men.

This reveals that the guerrilla activities in the country, which started two years ago in the northeast and in the extreme southern part of Thailand, have increased considerably, in spite of the 300,000 soldiers of the local regime and the U. S. effectives mentioned above.

¶ In Venezuela, the expulsion of Luis Beltrán Prieto and Angel Paz Galarraga, president and vice-president respectively of the Acción Democrática Party, means the reinforcement of the most reactionary wing, represented by Gonzalo Barrios, under the slogan of "democratic peace." One of the latest developments in Venezuela is the national campaign launched by the Movimiento de Izquierda Revolucionario (Leftist Revolutionary Movement) under the slogan of "men, arms and money" to further the fight of the guerrillas.

¶ Israel in Kinshasa. The Israeli military mission in Kinshasa now compries 60 training officers, headed by Colonel Nevo, who, because of his physical appearance, is often mistaken for Bob Dinnard, the ringleader of the mercenary bands.

¶ The military goings on in Pretoria and Salisbury continue to grow. Reason: the increased guerrilla actions, launched by the National African Congress in collaboration with the Zimbabwe African Peoples' Union, with the aim of developing the revolutionary armed struggle in the Republic of South Africa and Southern Rhodesia (Zimbabwe). The guerrilla forces have advanced in three different directions towards the Republic of South Africa. Sabotage groups have carried out important actions near Bulawayo, an important urban center. Vorster and Smith have mobilized their troops and received the assistance of Great Britain, West Germany, Portugal and the regimes of Botswana and Lesotho. They also bring pressure to bear by diplomatic means on the governments of Zambia and Tanzania, owing to the support that these governments give the patriots. Regardless of the military goings-on and the diplomatic pressures, the struggle continues.

¶ The resignation of the Afghan Primer Minister, "due to ill health" right after his trip to Washington, may be connected with the accusation of the magazine *Ramparts*: Zia N. Noorzay, who was President of the State Treasury of Afghanistan, was a CIA agent. That U.S. agency has increased its base of infiltration in Afghanistan, either directly or through West Germany. The latter nation had sent its "Peace Corps" (which is a replica of the U.S. force) direct to Afghanistan for the first time. A curious fact, and one which might reveal the "psychological methods" applied by the intelligence services: a high percentage of this peace corps is composed of plump German women.

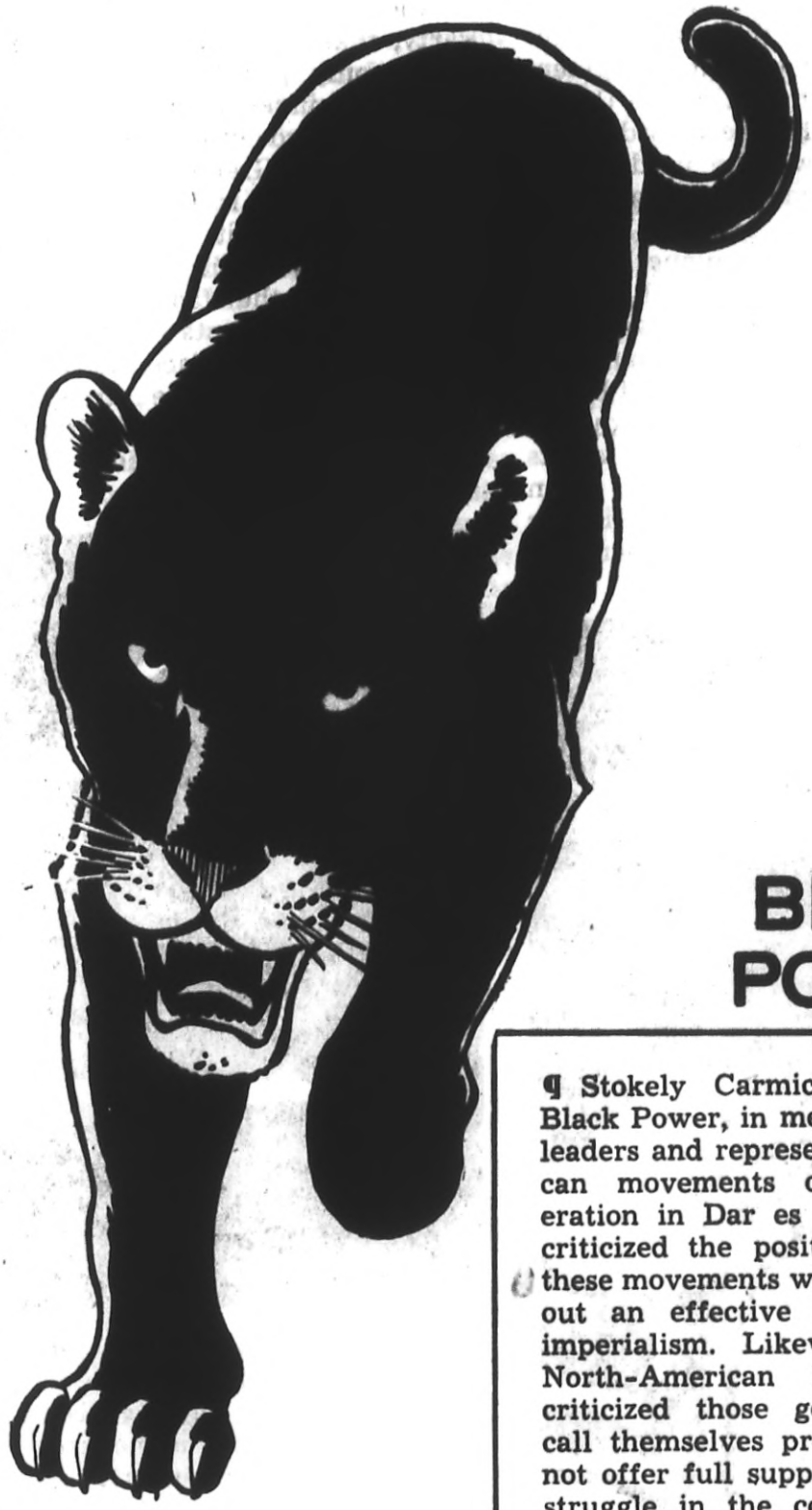
¶ Before the trial of Régis Debray, the Bolivian Government had tried to eliminate the French intellectual by applying to him the notorious "fugitive law." In non-French European circles it was confidentially reported that a Bolivian army man visited the French Embassy to propose a plan, which Debray refused to accept. Confronted with this negative, a Bolivian colonel insisted that "the best thing" would be to arrange his escape, "in which he might be willing to cooperate." It was also learned that the appointment of Dr. Flores Torrico, Debray's former lawyer, originated in the Papal Nuncio in Bolivia. After Régis Debray's letter to his mother, in which he remarks that the lawyer Flores had betrayed him, it was revealed that the attorney was linked with a colonel named De la Torre, commander of an anti-guerrilla division.

¶ The United States, by means of its Special Forces and the CIA, organizes, equips and leads the counterrevolutionary bands which still survive in the zones of Laos liberated by the Neo Lao Haksat. The agents used for this generally come from Thailand, South Viet-Nam, the Philippines and Taiwan, parachuting in from planes, or landing by helicopter. The activities of these groups *are directed exclusively by North Americans,* who ignore Souvanna Phouma and give no information whatsoever of their activities.

A so-called Permanent Group of Industrial Mobilization is functioning in Brazil, closely tied up with U.S. interests, and especially with the Pentagon, for the mass production at low cost of war equipment which has a high cost in the United States. They will receive orders for materials that will be used in the war on Viet-Nam. A Caribu plane factory has been installed in the state of Ceará; these planes have a special use in anti-guerrilla warfare. A uniform factory was set up in Belo Horizonte. 2,000 small and medium-sized industries went bankrupt in the state of Sao Paulo during the period of 1964-66. The assets of these companies have been absorbed by the U.S. monopolies, or by "Brazilian" outfits operating with foreign capital.

¶ *Tricontinental* confirms the *outbreak of guerrilla fighting in Rwanda.* The revolutionary forces of the Rhodesian National Union Party, that adopted armed struggle as the only possible means of attaining the independence of Rwanda from the pro-imperialist government of K. Gregoire, assert that armed struggle is in the foremost place and that it shall forge the desired unity. The Rwanda guerrillas enjoy the firm support of certain governments that, in this African zone, must face the Rwanda government and the troops of Mobutu, that violate their frontiers in order to carry out acts of terrorism.

¶ The CIA aids Israel through Hussein. It has been learned that, at present, the intelligence and security services of the monarch are concentrating their efforts on the repression of the Palestinian commandos. Mohammed Rassoul Kailani, Jordanian chief of intelligence, is likewise a liaison agent of the CIA.



BLACK POWER

¶ Stokely Carmichael, leader of Black Power, in meetings held with leaders and representatives of African movements of national liberation in Dar es Salaam, bitterly criticized the position of some of these movements which do not carry out an effective struggle against imperialism. Likewise, the Afro-North-American leader severely criticized those governments that call themselves progressive but do not offer full support to the armed struggle in the colonial and neo-colonial nations of Africa. Carmichael averred that *it is inconceivable that a movement of national liberation should have relations with imperialism.*

THE MARXISM OF REGIS DEBRAY

by Robin Blackburn & Perry Anderson

The British magazine NEW LEFT REVUE published (No. 45 September-October) this brief but acute interpretation of Debray's writings. Its authors have given special authorization to TRICONTINENTAL to reprint it.

As we go to press, Régis Debray is about to stand trial in Bolivia. The military authorities who claim to try him have announced him in advance "guilty" of the fabricated charges against him. The story of his arrest, torture and imprisonment when on a journalistic mission to interview Che Guevara is by now known all over the world. Debray's revenge, however, is one that the Bolivian military dictatorship have themselves prepared. The Barrientos regime has imprisoned him for his ideas; yet his imprisonment has now given an unprecedented international fame to these very ideas.

Régis Debray has written three closely linked studies of the Latin

American revolution. Together, they unquestionably constitute one of the most brilliant examples of Marxist-Leninist analysis to have appeared in many years. What above all distinguishes Debray's writings is their relentlessly Leninist focus on making the revolution, as a political, technical and military problem. This is what gives them their inner unity and their unmistakable tone—a tone of burning urgency that recalls the insurrectionary debates and manifestos of 1917. All set-backs and difficulties are seen in the perspective of the means to overcome them. They can, indeed, be welcomed if the lessons they offer are learnt. Revolution is on the order of the day here and now, even if a prodigious and costly effort will be needed to achieve it. The task of a commentator is to clarify revolutionary practice through a theoretical transformation of revolutionary experience.

In Cuba, Debray's most recent essay Revolution in the Revolution? has sold over 200,000 copies. Based on long discussions with Fidel, it sets out the new Cuban guerrilla tactics in Latin America. The essay appears to present an explosive, unfamiliar combination of an utterly intransigent revolutionary ethics and an extraordinarily detailed and concrete technics of insurrection. On the one hand, the whole study is written under the sign of the new categorical imperative proclaimed in Havana: "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution." This absolute moral duty inspires every page. At the same time, the reader of Revolution in the Revolution? is immediately plunged into the encir-

cled world of the practical needs and tasks of small guerrilla bands operating in the mountains and jungles of Latin America. Much of the study is devoted to discussing such questions as the vital importance of "a square yard of nylon cloth, a pound of sugar and salt, a pair of boots." Debray himself comments: "Seen from the outside, these are 'details,' 'material limitations' of the class struggle, the 'technical side,' the minor and hence secondary side of things."

The distinctive combination of revolutionary ethics and technics which characterizes **Revolution in the Revolution?** undoubtedly owes much to the specific cultural traditions which have fused in Cuba. The unyielding moral imperative to make the revolution, regardless of the dangers to the revolutionary, is very much in the tradition of Hispanic thought and feeling—its indifference to hardship and death. At the same time, the intense practicality of Che Guevara's **Guerrilla Warfare** and Debray's sequel to it —the concern for the daily, concrete details of action— is visibly American in its inspiration. **Revolution in the Revolution?** is in this sense a faithful mirror of Cuban Marxism. To European or Asian readers, it is precisely this combination which may initially be disconcerting. Marxism has historically not only been an ethics and a technics: it has been a **politics** —that is, a theory of the social structure and the contradictions within it which objectively found the revolutionary movement which aims to overthrow it. Where is the political analysis which should englobe the technical programme and the moral summons of the guerrilla movement?

The answer is that Debray's first two essays, **Latin America: The Long March** (published in NLR 33) and **Problems of Revolutionary Strategy in Latin America** provide precisely this. They are the indispensable complement, the theoretical-political premises of the call to arms in **Revolution in the Revolution?**

In **Latin America: The Long March,** Debray undertook a vast survey of the first post-1959 wave of insurrectionary initiatives in Latin America, and the reasons for their temporary arrest or defeat. He points out the novelty of the concept of the insurrectionary **foco** by contrast with the mechanical opposition of adventurist "putschism" and quiescent "mass action" which had traditionally dominated Left politics in Latin America. Debray then sketches a vivid analysis of the impossibility of permanent urban guerrillas (based on the experience of the battle of Caracas in 1963) and the unviability of any dual command of rural guerrillas (military leaders in the country and political leaders in the towns).

Calling for a unified politico-military force of insurrection in the country, he stresses that military action must always be commanded by politics. "Armed struggle understood as an art is meaningless except in the framework of politics understood as a science."

Debray next proceeds to the fundamental theoretical axiom which governs the whole of his subsequent writings. The Latin American Left has always been divided in an interminable debate about the nature of the revolution to come: was it merely "bourgeois-democratic" or would it be "socialist?" The answer given to this question, of course, determined the programme of the revolutionary party, and its alliances with other social forces. A controversy was centering on these issues. Debray cut right through this whole theoretical impasse with the formulation which is the fulcrum of his political analysis: "The nub of the problem lies not in the initial programme of the revolution but in its ability to resolve in practice the problem of State power before the bourgeois-democratic stage, and not after. In South America the bourgeois-democratic stage presupposes the destruction of the bourgeois State apparatus." The enormous liberation which this peremptory axiom represents for Latin American militants will be evident to anyone who ever experienced the traditional and paralyzing debates in the continent over the "stages" of the revolution —so reminiscent of Menshevik discussion in the early years of the century. Nothing shows more clearly the authentically Leninist character of Debray's thought than this renovation of the Bolshevik Strategy of 1917, when State power was seized and socialism inaugurated on a mere programme of "Bread, Land and Peace." Fidel Castro's programme of 1958 was essentially similar in character: the "mildest" political platform was the prelude to the most rapid and radical socialization of the 20th century.

In the political essay we now publish, **Problems of Revolutionary Strategy in Latin America,** Debray moves on to consider two crucial, continent-wide co-ordinates of revolutionary struggle since the Cuban Revolution. Firstly, he argues in a striking aphorism that: "Revolution revolutionizes the counter-revolution" —more immediately and effectively than the revolutionary forces themselves. The lessons of Cuba, he points out, were assimilated much more quickly by the USA than by the Latin American Left. Both the U.S. and the local oligarchies responded with great speed to the threat of further Cubas. Drawing on parallels with Eastern Europe after 1917, Debray discusses the Alliance for Progress and the new and terrific mobilization of violence which

the USA launched with its counter-insurgency programmes. The essay foreshadows with the utmost clarity the U.S. invasion of Santo Domingo, which occurred a few months after it was written.

Secondly, Debray analyses the whole question of the existence and role of the "national bourgeoisie" in Latin America, and the fate of the reformist politics oriented towards an alliance with it. In a brilliant tour de force, he shows that the two divergent roads of "national bourgeois" government in Latin America inexorably lead to a single outcome: murderous counter-revolution. There has never been a better or more devastating sketch of the corrupt MNR and AD regimes in Bolivia and Venezuela —what Debray calls "Demobourgeois Fascism" —a bourgeois regime without a bourgeois class. Next, the class logic of the downfall of well-intentioned reforming governments —Goulart in Brazil or Arbenz in Guatemala— is analysed in a characteristically staccato scenario. Finally, the polemic with which Debray assails the demagogy of Latin American reformism is in the best Marxist tradition. His discussion of the Chilean elections of 1964 is particularly important here, showing very clearly that Debray does not believe that guerrilla tactics are the only permissible form of struggle, while insisting that electoral illusions are the death of any revolutionary movement. "It is one thing to use a bourgeois weapon like an election in a regime of representative democracy; it is another thing to use it in a bourgeois manner." The formula, of course, is universally valid.

This political analysis, then, is the infrastructure of the military and technical prescriptions of Revolution in the Revolution? Here Debray develops the new and startling thesis that guerrillas must initially shun the civilian peasant population, abandon the notions of fixed guerrilla bases, "armed propaganda" and "armed self-defence," and convert themselves into swift, entirely mobile striking units aimed at knocking out the troops of repression. He grounds these arguments in an analysis of the specific conditions of Latin America— the very low density of rural population, cultural disparity between guerrillas (usually recruits from the towns) and peasants (often Indians) and the tremendous repressive power of "revolutionized" counter-revolution. Debray is concerned mainly with the military diversion of armed struggle. But although he does not believe that most of the existing political parties in Latin America are viable as revolutionary vanguards, he is emphatic that such a political vanguard is essential: it will be, precisely, the guerrilla itself. "A guerrilla force cannot develop on the military level if it does not become a po-

litical vanguard." He goes on to point out that: "If it (the guerrilla force) does not assume the functions of political leadership during the course of emancipation itself, it will not be able to assume them when the war is over... We have only to observe the difficulties in which Algeria finds itself today."

It is important to stress that Debray is only discussing the take-off stage of insurrection in Latin America here —not the whole trajectory of the revolution itself. In a key image, he constantly refers to the guerrilla force as the "small motor" which alone can set the "large motor" of the masses in motion later. He does not discuss the "large motor" as such, but the general lines of the class bloc it must involve have already been indicated in the two "political" essays, **Latin America: The Long March** and **Problems of Revolutionary Strategy in Latin America**, as we have seen.

One objection that has been raised to **Revolution in the Revolution?** is that it seems sometimes to lack sufficient specificity. Debray appears to be advocating the same guerrilla tactics indifferently for Argentina and Colombia, Costa Rica and Guatemala. It has thus been alleged that he ignores the varying possibilities of revolutionary action within each individual country. Thus most Latin American countries have large urban populations and a great part of this population is neither absolutely nor relatively privileged. In Argentina, 70 per cent of the population is urban —a proportion greater than in France. Brazil has no less than two cities of more than 5,000,000 and three of over 1,000,000. The destitute shanty-towns and wretched working-class districts which surround every Latin American city surely provide a social basis for some urban form of struggle. There is also the possible contribution of such traditionally militant groups as students. The revolution foreseen by Debray has thus appeared to his critics to be somewhat "underdetermined," relying only on one social force (the peasantry of the remoter rural areas) and one revolutionary tactic (the guerrilla foco). When these objections were put to Debray in discussions in Havana, his answer was as follows. The guerrilla force was only one factor among many in the development of a revolutionary situation – students, trade unions, peasant leagues and so on would also undoubtedly be necessary if a revolutionary situation was to be successfully carried to its conclusion. But nevertheless there is always one dominant feature of any given historical conjuncture — what Mao calls the "principal aspect of the principal contradiction." Thus it was the action of the Bolsheviks which knit together and fused the manifold contradictions of Russian society in 1917 — forging an alliance of workers and

peasants symbolized by the slogan "Bread, Land and Peace." Similarly, the party which grew out of the guerrilla force would impose its unity on the diverse and inevitably over-determined social contradictions set in motion during the revolutionary upheaval. Only in the rural backlands, however, can an effective striking-force meanwhile be readied.

Replying to the criticism that he overlooks the very different social structures of Latin American countries, Debray commented that such criticisms in their turn ignore the fundamental factor of continental unity in Latin America. He made a comparison with the Wars of Independence, in the time of Bolivar. The tempo of anti-imperialist struggle was certain to grow unevenly throughout the continent. Just as certain regions like Gran Colombia had taken the lead in the wars against Spain, while others like Peru had been liberated as a result of victories in the neighbouring provinces, so today too vanguard would emerge in Latin America. The vanguard countries would be those most hospitable to guerrilla action. The success of the revolution in these countries would then inevitably detonate the contradictions in their neighbours. Debray indicates in the essay published here what he means by this, when he criticizes the illusion of Chilean militants that their country represented such an "advanced" model that it was exempt from the general laws of the Latin American revolution today.

The debate on this question will certainly continue. Meanwhile, the conference of OLAS in Havana has undoubtedly helped to clarify a number of points. In a historic speech at the end of the Conference, Fidel emphasized that armed insurrection is not the **only** form of revolutionary struggle, but that it is the **fundamental form** — to which all others will eventually lead. There is thus absolutely no place for reformist illusions about the nature of the State in a capitalist society, although this does not mean instantaneous armed uprising against it, regardless of the objective political conjuncture. The tempo of the revolution will vary from country to country, although its nature will be fundamentally similar. The emergence of a new "International" based on these principles is the logical outcome of this momentous Conference. Neither the Cuban leaders nor Debray see any continental conflagration as a short-run probability. The struggle will be a very long one. At this stage, revolutionary practice is confined, indeed, to starting the "small motor." The "large motor" is still silent in most Latin American countries. Only when it is heard, will final success be possible. Meanwhile, the struggle must begin. "The duty of every revolutionary is to make the revolution."